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MISCELLANIES

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LONDON:

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THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

TO Publish the Writings of Persons without their Consent, is a Practice generally Speaking, so Unfair, and has so many times proved an unsufferable injury to the Credit and Reputation of the Authors, as well as a shameful Imposition on the Publick, either by a Scandalous Insertion of Spurious Pieces, or an Imperfect and Faulty Edition of such as are Genuine, that tho' I have been Master of such of the following Pieces, as have never yet been Printed, for several Months, I could never, tho' much Importuned, prevail on my self to Publish them, fearing even a possibility of doing an Injury in either of those Two Respects to the Person who is generally known to be the Author of some; and, with greater Reason than I am at present at Liberty to give, supposed to be the Author of all the other Pieces which

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make

To the READER.

make up this Collection. But as my own unwillingness to do any thing which might prove an Injury to the supposed Authors Reputation, to whom no Man pays a juster Esteem or bears a greater Respect than my self, has hitherto kept me from giving the World so agreeable an Entertainment as it will receive from the following Papers, so the Sence I had that he would really now suffer a much greater in both Instances from other Hands, was the Occasion of my determining to do it at present: Since some of the following Pieces have lately appeared in Print, from very Imperfect and Uncorrect Copies. Nor was the Abuse like to stop here, for these with all the Defects and Imperfections they came out under, met with so much Applause, and so Universal a good Reception from all Men of Wit and Taste, as to prompt the Booksellers, who had heard that other of these Tracts were in Manuscript in some Gentlemens Hands, to seek by any means to Procure them, which should they compass, they would without Question Publish in a manner as little to the Authors Credit and Reputation, as they have already done those few which unfortunately

To the READER.

fortunately have fallen into their Possession: This being a known Fact I hope will be sufficient to make this Publication, tho' without the Authors Consent or Knowledge, very consistent with that Respect I sincerely bear him; Who, if it should not appear to be perfectly without Fault, can with little Justice complain of the Wrong he receives by it, since it has prevented his suffering a much greater, no more than a Man who is pushed down out of the way of a Bullet, can with Reason take as an Affront, either the Blow he falls by, or the Dirt he rises with.

BUT Indeed I have very little uneasiness upon me for fear of any Injury the Authors Credit and Reputation may receive from any Imperfection or Uncorrectness in these following Tracts, since the Persons from whom I had them, and in whose Hands I have reason to believe the Author left them, when his Affairs called him out of this Kingdom, are of so much worth themselves, and have so great a Regard for the Author, that I am confident they would neither do, nor suffer any thing that might turn

To the R E A D E R.

to his Disadvantage. I must confess I am upon another account under some Concern, which is, least some of the following Papers are such as the Author perhaps would rather should not have been Published at all; in which Case, I should look upon my self highly obliged to ask his Pardon: But even on this Supposition, as there is no Person Named, the supposed Author is at Liberty to Disown as much as he thinks fit of what is here Published, and so can be Chargable with no more of it than he pleases to take upon himself.

FROM this Apology I have been making, the Reader may in part be satisfied how these Papers came into my Hands, and to give him a more particular Information herein will prove little to his Use, tho' perhaps it might somewhat gratifie his Curiosity, which I shall think not material any farther to do, than by assuring him, that I am not only my self sufficiently convinced that all the Tracts in the following Collection, excepting Two, before both of which I have in the Book expressed my Doubtfulness, were Wrote by the same Hand,
but

TO the READER.

but several Judicious Persons who are well acquainted with the supposed Authors Writings, and not altogether Strangers to his Conversation, have agreed with me herein, not only for the Reasons I have before hinted at, but upon this Account also, that there are in every one of these Pieces some particular Beauties that discover this Authors Vein, who excels too much not to be Distinguished, since in all his Writings such a surprising mixture of Wit and Learning, true Humour and good Sense does every where appear, as sets him almost as far out of the Reach of Imitation, as it does beyond the Power of Censure.

THE Reception that these Pieces will meet with from the Publick, and the Satisfaction they will give to all Men of Wit and Taste, will soon decide it, whither there be any Reason for the Reader to suspect an Imposition, or the Author to apprehend an Injury; The former I am fully satisfied will never be, and the latter I am sure I never Intended: In confidence of which, should the Author when he sees these Tracts appear, take some Offence, and know

TO the READER.

where to place his Resentment, I will be so free as to own, I could without much Uneasiness sit down under some degree of it, since it would be no hard Task to bear some Displeasure from a Single Person, for that for which one is sure to receive the Thanks of every Body else.

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in **ATHENS and ROME.** 91

so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch Instances where he has in many things been hardly used. How long these Humours may last, (for Passions are momentary, and especially those of a Multitude) or what Consequences they may produce, a little time may discover. But whenever it comes to pass, that a popular Assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possess'd of more Power, than an equal Balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the Hand that holds the Balance, and by Impeachments or Dissentions with the Nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see in the common course of things, how the same Causes can produce different Effects and Consequences among us, from what they did in *Greece and Rome.*

F I N I S.

to find it, for some they have
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 did in Greece and Rome.

I

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
Contests and Dissentions
Between the
NOBLES and the COMMONS
IN
ATHENS and ROME,
WITH THE
Consequences they had upon both those
STATES.

— Si tibi vera videtur
Dedo manus ; & si falsa est accingere contra. Lucret.

Written in the Year, 1701.

CHAP. I.

TIS agreed that in all Govern-
ment there is an absolute un-
limited Power, which natu-
rally and originally seems to be placed
B in

in the whole Body, wherever the Executive Part of it lies. This holds in the Body natural; For wherever we place the beginning of Motion, whether from the Head, or the Heart, or the animal Spirits in general, the Body moves and acts by a Consent of all its Parts. This unlimited Power placed fundamentally in the Body of a People, is what the Legislators of all Ages have endeavour'd in their several Schemes or Institutions of Government, to deposit in such Hands as would preserve the People from Rapine and Oppression within, as well as Violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a Trust too great to be committed to any one Man or Assembly, and therefore they left the Right still in the whole Body, but the Administration or Executive part, in the hands of *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*, into which three Powers all independent Bodies of Men seem naturally to divide; for by all I have read of those innumerable and petty Commonwealths in *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Sicily*, as well as the great ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*; it seems to me, that

that a free People met together, whether by *Compact* or *Family Government*, as soon as they fall into any Acts of Civil Society, do of themselves divide into three Powers. The first is that of some one eminent Spirit, who having signaliz'd his Valour and Fortune in Defence of his Country, or by the Practice of popular Arts at home, becomes to have great Influence on the People, to grow their Leader in Warlike Expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their Civil Assemblies: And this is grounded upon the Principles of Nature or common Reason, which in all Difficulties or Dangers, where Prudence or Courage are required, do rather incite us to fly for Counsel or Assistance to a single Person than a Multitude. The second natural Division of Power, is of such Men who have acquired large Possessions, and consequently Dependances, or descend from Ancestors who have left them great Inheritances, together with an Hereditary Authority. These easily uniting in Thoughts and Opinions, and acting in Concert, begin to enter upon Measures for securing their Properties,

perties, which are best upheld by preparing against Invasions from abroad, and maintaining Peace at home : This commences a great Council or Senate of Nobles for the weighty Affairs of the Nation. The last Division is of the Mass or Body of the People, whose Part of Power is great and undisputable, when ever they can unite either collectively or by Deputation to exert it. Now the three Forms of Government so generally known in the Schools, differ only by the Civil Administration being placed in the Hands of One, or sometimes Two (as in *Sparta*) who were call'd *Kings*, or in a Senate, who were call'd the *Nobles*, or in the People Collective or Representative, who may be called the *Commons* : each of these had frequently the Executive Power in *Greece*, and sometimes in *Rome* : but the Power in the last Resort was always meant by Legislators to be held in Balance among all three. And it will be an eternal Rule in Politicks among every free People, that there is a Balance of Power to be carefully held by every State

State within itself, as well as among several States with each other.

THE true Meaning of a Balance of Power, either without or within a State, is best conceived by considering what the nature of a Balance is. It supposes three Things. First, the Part which is held, together with the Hand that holds it; and then the two Scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now consider several States in a Neighbourhood: In order to preserve Peace between these States, it is necessary they should be form'd into a Balance, whereof one or more are to be Directors, who are to divide the rest into equal Scales, and upon Occasions remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own Weight into the Lightest. So in a State within itself, the Balance must be held by a third Hand; who is to deal the remaining Power with utmost Exactness into the several Scales. Now, it is not necessary that the Power should be equally divided between these three; For the Balance may be held by the Weakest, who, by his Address and Conduct,

removing from either Scale, and adding of his own, may keep the Scales duly pois'd. Such was that of the two Kings of *Sparta*, the Consular Power in *Rome*: that of the Kings of *Media* before the Reign of *Cyrus*, as represented by *Xenophon*; and that of the several limited States in the *Gothick* Institution.

WHEN the Balance is broke, whether by the Negligence, Folly, or Weakness of the Hand that held it, or by mighty Weights fallen into either Scale, the Power will never continue long in equal Division between the two remaining Parties, but (till the Balance is fixed anew) will run entirely into one. This gives the truest account of what is understood in the most ancient and approved *Greek* Authors by the Word *Tyranny*, which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrouled or absolute Power into the Hands of a single Person (as many superficial Men have grossly mistaken) but for the breaking of the Balance by whatever Hand, and leaving the Power wholly in one Scale. For *Tyranny* and
Usurpa-

Usurpation in a State, are by no means confined to any Number, as might easily appear from Examples enough: and because the Point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

THE Romans having sent to Athens, Dionys. Hal. l. 10, and the Greek Cities of Italy, for the Copies of the best Laws, chose Ten Legislators to put them into form, and during the Exercise of their Office, suspended the Consular Power, leaving the Administration of Affairs in their Hands. These very Men, though chosen for such a Work, as the digesting a Body of Laws for the Government of a free State, did immediately usurp Arbitrary Power, ran into all the Forms of it, had their Guards and Spies, after the Practice of the Tyrants of those Ages, affected Kingly State, destroy'd the Nobles, and oppress'd the People; One of them proceeding so far as to endeavour to force a Lady of great Virtue: the very Crime which gave Occasion to the Expulsion of the Regal Power but sixty Years before, as this Attempt did to that of the *Decemviri*.

THE *Ephori* in *Sparta* were at first only certain Persons deputed by the King to judge in Civil Matters, while *They* were employ'd in the Wars. These Men at several times, usurp'd the absolute Authority, and were as cruel Tyrants as any in their Ages.

Thucid.
lib. 8.

SOON after the unfortunate Expedition into *Sicily*, the *Athenians* chose four hundred Men for Administration of Affairs, who became a Body of Tyrants, and were called in the Language of those Ages, an *Oligarchy*, or Tyranny of the *Few*; under which hateful Denomination, they were soon after deposed in great Rage by the People.

Xenoph. de
rebus Grac.
l. 2.

WHEN *Athens* was subdued by *Lysander*, he appointed thirty Men for the Administration of that City, who immediately fell into the rankest Tyranny: But this was not all; For conceiving their Power not founded on a *Basis* large enough, they admitted three thousand into a Share of the Government; and thus fortified, became

came the cruellest Tyranny upon Record. They murder'd, in cold Blood, great numbers of the best Men, without any Provocation, from the meer Lust of Cruelty, like *Nero* or *Caligula*. This was such a Number of Tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole City. For *Xenophon* Memorab. lib. 3. tells us, that the City contain'd about ten thousand Houses, and allowing one Man to every House, who could have any Share in the Government (the rest consisting of Women, Children, and Servants) and making other obvious Abatements, these Tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a Majority even of the People Collective.

In the time of the second *Punic* Polyb. Frag. 1. 6. War, the Balance of Power in *Carthage* was got on the side of the People, and that to a Degree, that some Authors reckon the Government to have been then among them a *Dominatio Plebis*, or *Tyranny of the Commons*, which it seems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at last among the Causes that ruin'd their State.

And

Lib. 20.

And the frequent Murders of their Generals, which *Diodorus* tells us was grown to an establish'd Custom among them, may be another Instance that Tyranny is not confined to Numbers.

Lib. 15.

I shall mention but one Example more among a great Number that might be produced; It is related by the Author last cited. The Orators of the People at *Argos* (whether you will stile them in modern Phrase, *Great Speakers in the House*, or only in general, Representatives of the People Collective) stirred up the Commons against the Nobles; of whom 1600 were Murdered at once, and at last, the Orators themselves, because they left off their Accusations, or to speak Intelligibly, because they *withdrew their Impeachments*; having, it seems, raised a Spirit they were not able to lay. And this last Circumstance, as Cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noting.

FROM what hath been already advanced, several Conclusions may be drawn.

First,

First, THAT a mixt Government partaking of the known Forms received in the Schools, is by no means of *Gothick* Invention, but has place in Nature and Reason, seems very well to agree with the Sentiments of most Legislators, and to have been follow'd in most States, whether they have appear'd under the name of Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies. For not to mention the several Republicks of this Composition in *Gaul* and *Germany*, described by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*; *Polybius* tells us, the best Government is that which consists of three Forms, *Regno*, *Optimatum*, & *Populi imperio*. Which may be Fragm. lib. 6. fairly Translated, the *Kings*, *Lords* and *Commons*. Such was that of *Sparta* in its Primitive Institution by *Lycurgus*; who observing the Corruptions and Depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his Scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *Reges*, *Seniores*, & *Populus*: Such also was the State of *Rome*, under its Consuls; And the Author tells

Id. ib.

tells us, that the *Romans* fell upon this Model purely by chance, (which I take to have been Nature and common Reason) but the *Spartans* by Thought and Design. And such at *Carthage* was the *summa Reipublicæ*, or Power in the last Resort; For they had their Kings call'd *Suffetes*, and a Senate which had the Power of *Nobles*, and the *People* had a share establish'd too.

Secondly, IT will follow, That those Reasoners who employ so much of their Zeal, their Wit and their Leisure for upholding the Balance of Power in Christendom, at the same time that by their Practices they are endeavouring to destroy it at home, are not such mighty Patriots, or so much in the true Interest of their Countrey, as they would affect to be thought, but seem to be employed like a Man who pulls down with his right Hand what he has been Building with his left.

Thirdly, THIS makes appear the Error of those who think it an uncontrollable Maxim, that Power is always

always safer lodged in many Hands than in one. For if those many Hands be made up only of one of the three Divisions before mentioned, 'tis plain from those Examples already produced, and easie to be parallel'd in other Ages and Countries, that they are as capable of Enslaving the Nation, and of acting all manner of Tyranny and Oppression as it is possible for a single Person to be; tho' we should suppose their number to be not only of Four or Five Hundred, but above Three Thousand.

AGAIN, it is manifest from what has been said, that in order to preserve the Balance in a mix'd State, the Limits of Power deposited with each Party ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The defects of this is the cause that introduces those strugglings in a State about *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, about Encroachments of the *Few*, upon the Rights of the *Many*, and of the *Many* upon the Privileges of the *Few*, which ever did and ever will conclude in a Tyranny; First, either of the *Few*, or the *Many*, but at last infallibly
of

of a single Person. For, which ever of the three Divisions in a State is upon the Scramble for more Power than its own (as one or other of them generally is) unless due care be taken by the other two; upon every new Question that arises, they will be sure to decide in favour of themselves, talk much of Inherent Right; they will nourish up a dormant Power, and reserve Privileges in *petto*, to exert upon Occasions, to serve Expedients, and to urge upon Necessities. They will make large Demands, and scanty Concessions; ever coming off considerable Gainers: Thus at length the Balance is broke, and Tyranny let in, from which Door of the three it matters not.

TO pretend to a *declarative* Right upon any occasion whatsoever, is little less than to make use of the whole Power: That is, to declare an opinion to be Law, which has always been contested, or perhaps never started at all before such an incident brought it on the Stage. Not to consent to the Enacting of such a Law, which has
no

no view besides the general Good, unless another Law shall at the same time pass with no other view but that of advancing the Power of one Party alone; What is this but to claim a positive Voice as well as a negative? To pretend that great Changes and Alienations of Property have created new and great dependences, and consequently new additions of Power, as some Reasoners have done, is a most dangerous Tenet: If Dominion must follow Property, let it follow in the same pace: For Changes in Property thro' the Bulk of a Nation make slow Marches, and its due Power always attends it. To conclude that whatever attempt is begun by an Assembly, ought to be pursued to the end, without regard to the greatest incidents that may happen to alter the Case; To count it mean, and below the *Dignity of a House* to quit a Prosecution; To resolve upon a Conclusion before it is possible to be apprised of the Premises; To act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute Power, but Infallibility too. Yet such unaccountable Proceedings as these
have

have Popular Assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due Limits of *Power and Privilege*.

GREAT Changes may indeed be made in a Government, yet the Form continue, and the Balance be held; but large Intervals of Time must pass between every such Innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a Piece with the Constitution. Such we are told were the Proceedings of *Solon*, when he Modelled anew the *Athenian Commonwealth*: And what Convulsions in our own as well as other States have been bred by a neglect of this Rule, is fresh and notorious enough: 'Tis too soon in all conscience to repeat this Error again.

HAVING shewn that there is a natural Balance of Power in all free States, and how it has been divided sometimes by the People themselves, as in *Rome*, at others by the Institutions of Legislators, as in the several States of *Greece* and *Sicily*: The next thing is to examine what Methods have been taken to break or overthrow this
Ballance

Balance; which every of the three Parties have continually endeavour'd, as opportunities have serv'd; as might appear from the Stories of most Ages and Countries. For, Absolute Power in a particular State, is of the same nature with universal Monarchy in several States adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant are the desires of Men, whether consider'd in their Persons or their States, that they will grasp at all, and can form no Scheme of perfect Happiness with less. Ever since Men have been united into Governments, the Hopes and Endeavours after universal Monarchy have been bandied among them, from the Reign of *Ninus* to this of the *Most Christian King*; in which pursuits Commonwealths have had their share as well as Monarchs: So the *Athenians*, the *Spartans*, the *Thebans* and the *Achaians*, did at several times aim at the universal Monarchy of *Greece*; So the Commonwealths of *Carthage* and *Rome* affected the universal Monarchy of the then known World. In like manner has absolute Power been pursued by the several Parties of each particular State;

C wherein

wherein single Persons have met with most Success, tho' the endeavours of the *Few* and the *Many* have been frequent enough; But, being neither so uniform in their Designs, nor so direct in their Views, they neither could manage nor maintain the Power they had got; but were ever deceived by the Popularity and Ambition of some single Person. So that it will be always a wrong step in Policy, for the *Nobles* or *Commons* to carry their Endeavours after Power so far, as to overthrow the Balance: And it would be enough to damp their warmth in such Pursuits, if they could once reflect, that in such a Course they will be sure to run upon the very Rock they meant to avoid, which I suppose they would have us think is the Tyranny of a single Person.

MANY Examples might be produced of the Endeavours from each of these three Rivals, after absolute Power; But I shall suit my Discourse to the Time I am Writing it, and Relate only such Dissentions between the *Nobles* and *Commons*, with the Consequences

quences of them, in *Greece* and *Rome*, wherein the latter were the Aggressors.

I shall begin with *Greece*, where my Observations shall be confin'd to *Athens*, tho' several Instances might be brought from other States thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Dissentions in Athens, between the Few and the Many.

THESEUS is the first who is Recorded with any appearance of Truth to have brought the *Grecians* from a barbarous manner of Life among scattered Villages, into Cities: and to have establish'd the *Popular State* in *Athens*, assigning to himself the Guardianship of the Laws, and chief Command in War. He was

forced after some time to leave the *Athenians* to their own measures, upon account of their seditious Temper, which ever continu'd with them till the final Dissolution of their Government by the *Romans*. It seems, the Country about *Attica* was the most Barren of any in *Greece*; through which means it happened that the Natives were never expelled by the Fury of Invaders, (who thought it not worth a Conquest) but continued always *Aborigines*; and therefore retained through all Revolutions a tincture of that turbulent Spirit wherewith their Government began. This Institution of *Theseus* appears to have been rather a sort of mixt Monarchy than a popular State, and for ought we know, might continue so during the Series of Kings till the Death of *Codrus*. From this last Prince, *Solon* was said to be descended; who finding the People engaged in two violent Factions, of the Poor and the Rich, and in great confusions thereupon; refusing the Monarchy which was offered him, chose rather to cast the Government after another Model, wherein he made
due

due provision for settling the Balance of Power, chusing a Senate of 400, and disposing the Magistracies and Offices according to Mens Estates; leaving to the Multitude their Votes in Electing, and the Power of judging certain Processes by Appeal. This Council of 400 was chosen, 100 out of each Tribe, and seems to have been a Body Representative of the People; tho' the People collective reserved a share of Power to themselves. It is a Point of History perplexed enough; but thus much is certain, that the Balance of Power was provided for; else *Pyfistratus*, (called by Authors the Tyrant of *Athens*) could never have govern'd so peaceably as he did, * without changing any of *Solon's* Laws. * *Herodotus* lib. 1. These several Powers, together with that of the *Archon*, or Chief Magistrate, made up the Form of Government in *Athens*, at what time it began to appear upon the Scene of Action and Story.

THE first great Man bred up under this Institution was *Miltiades*, who lived about Ninety Years after *Solon*,

and is reckon'd to have been the first great Captain not only of *Athens*, but of all *Greece*. From the time of *Miltiades* to that of *Phocion*, who is look'd upon as the last famous General of *Athens*, are about 130 years; After which they were subdued and insulted by *Alexander's* Captains, and continued under several Revolutions a small truckling State of no Name or Reputation, till they fell with the rest of *Greece* under the Power of the *Romans*.

DURING this Period from *Miltiades* to *Phocion*, I shall trace the Conduct of the *Athenians*, with relation to their Dissentions between the People and some of their Generals; who at that time by their Power and Credit in the Army, in a Warlike Commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were with the Magistrates and other Civil Officers, a sort of Counterpoise to the Power of the People, who since the Death of *Solon* had already made great Encroachments. What these Dissentions were, how founded, and what the Consequences of

of them, I shall briefly and impartially Relate.

I must here premise, that the *Nobles* in *Athens* being not at this time a Corporate Assembly that I can gather; therefore the Resentments of the Commons were usually turned against particular Persons, and by way of Articles or Impeachment. Whereas, the Commons in *Rome*, and some other States, (as will appear in proper Place) tho' they followed this Method upon occasion, yet generally pursued the Enlargement of their Power, by more set Quarrels of one entire Assembly against another. However, the Custom of particular Impeachments being not limited to former Ages, any more than that of general Struggles and Dissensions betwixt fix'd Assemblies of Nobles and Commons; And the Ruin of *Greece* having been owing to the former, as that of *Rome* was to the latter; I shall treat on both expressly; that those States who are concerned in either (if at least, there be any such now in the World) may by observing the Means and the Issues of

former Dissentions, learn whether the Causes are alike in theirs, and if they find them to be so, may consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same Effects.

TO speak of every particular Person impeach'd by the Commons of *Athens*, within the compass designed, would introduce the History of almost every great Man they had among them. I shall therefore take notice only of Six, who living in that Period of Time when *Athens* was at the height of its Glory (as indeed it could not be otherwise while such Hands were at the Helm) tho' impeach'd for high Crimes and Misdemeanours, such as Bribery, Arbitrary Proceedings, misapplying or imbeasting publick Funds, ill Conduct at Sea, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their Country, as the Preservers of it, and have had the Veneration of all Ages since paid justly to their Memories.

MILTIADES was one of the *Athenian* Generals against the *Persian* Power, and the famous Victory at
Mara-

Marathon was chiefly owing to his Valour and Conduct. Being sent some time after to reduce the Island *Paros*, he mistook a great Fire at distance, for the *Fleet*, and being no ways a Match for them, set Sail for *Athens*; at his Arrival he was *impeach'd* by the Commons for Treachery, tho' not able to appear by reason of his Wounds, fined 30000 Crowns, and died in Prison. Tho' the Consequences of this Proceeding upon the Affairs of *Athens*, were no otherwise than by the untimely Loss of so great and good a Man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

THEIR next great Man was *ARISTIDES*: Besides the mighty Service he had done his Country in the Wars; he was a Person of the strictest Justice, and best acquainted with the Laws as well as Forms of their Government, so that he was in a manner the Chancellor of *Athens*. This Man upon a slight and false Accusation of *favouring Arbitrary Power*, was banish'd by *Ostracism*; which rendered into modern *English*, would signify that they voted *he should be removed from their*
Pre-

Presence and Councils for ever. But, however, they had the Wit to recal him, and to that Action owed the Preservation of their State by his future Services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the *Athenian* People, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the Heights of *modern Assemblies*, to make *Obstinacy* confirm what *sudden Heat* and *Temerity* began. They thought it not below the Dignity of an Assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill Step; at least to repent, tho' it often fell out too late.

THEMISTOCLES was at first a *Commoner* himself. It was he that raised the *Athenians* to their Greatness at Sea, which he thought to be the true and constant Interest of that Commonwealth; and the famous Naval Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis* was owing to his Conduct. It seems the People observed somewhat of Haughtiness in his Temper and Behaviour, and therefore banisht him for five Years; but finding some slight matter of Accusation against him, they

they sent to seize his Person, and he hardly escaped to the *Persian* Court; from whence if the love of his Country had not surmounted its base Ingratitude to him, he had many Invitations to return at the Head of the *Persian* Fleet, and take a terrible Revenge; But he rather chose a voluntary Death.

THE People of *Athens* Impeached *PERICLES* for *Misapplying the Publick Revenues to his own Private Use*. He had been a Person of great Deservings from the Republick, was an *admirable Speaker*, and very Popular, *His Accounts were confused, and he could not then give them up*; therefore meerly to divert that Difficulty, and the Consequences of it, he was forced to engage his Country in the *Peloponnesian* War, the longest that ever was known in *Greece*, and which ended in the utter Ruin of *Athens*.

THE same People having resolved to subdue *Sicily*, sent a mighty Fleet under the command of *Nicias*, *Lamachus*, and *ALCIBIADES*: the two former, Persons of Age and Experience; the last

last a young Man of noble Birth, excellent Education, and a plentiful Fortune. A little before the Fleet set Sail, it seems, one Night, the Stone Images of *Mercury* placed in several parts of the City were all paled in the Face: This Action the *Athenians* interpreted for a Design of destroying the Popular State; And *Alcibiades* having been formerly noted for the like Frolicks and Excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether Conscious of his Innocence, or assured of the Secrecy, offered to come to his Tryal before he went to his Command; this the *Athenians* refused; but as soon as he was got to *Sicily*, they sent for him back, designing to take the Advantage, and Prosecute him in the Absence of his Friends, and of the Army, where he was very Powerful. It seems, he understood the Resentments of a Popular Assembly too well to trust them; and therefore instead of returning, escaped to *Sparta*; where his desires of Revenge prevailing over his Love to his Country, he became its greatest Enemy. Mean while, the *Athenians* before *Sicily*, by the Death
of

of one Commander, and the Superstition, Weakness, and perfect ill Conduct of the other, were utterly destroyed, the whole Fleet taken, a miserable Slaughter made of the Army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, *Alcibiades* was recalled upon his own Conditions, by the Necessities of the People; and made chief Commander at Sea and Land; but his Lieutenant engaging against his positive Orders, and being beaten by *Lysander*; *Alcibiades* was again disgraced and banished. However, the *Athenians* having lost all Strength and Heart since their Misfortune at *Sicily*, and now deprived of the only Person that was able to recover their Losses, repent of their Rashness, and endeavour in vain for his Restoration; the *Persian* Lieutenant, to whose Protection he fled, making Him a Sacrifice to the Resentments of *Lysander* the General of the *Lacedemonians*, who now reduces all the Dominions of the *Athenians*, takes the City, races their Walls, ruins their Works, and changes the Form of their Government; which though again restored

stored for some time by *Thrasybulus* (as their Walls were rebuilt by *Conon*) yet here we must date the Fall of the *Athenian* Greatness; the Dominion and chief Power in *Greece*, from that Period, to the time of *Alexander* the Great, which was about fifty Years, being divided between the *Spartans* and *Thebans*. Though *Philip*, *Alexander's* Father (the most Christian King of that Age) had indeed some time before begun to break in upon the Republicks of *Greece*, by Conquest or Bribery; particularly dealing large Money among some Popular Orators, by which he brought many of them, (as the term of Art was then) to *Philippize*.

IN the time of *Alexander* and his Captains, the *Athenians* were offered an Opportunity of preserving their Liberty, and being restored to their former State; but the wise Turn they thought to give the Matter, was by an Impeachment and Sacrifice of the Author, to hinder the Success. For, after the Destruction of *Thebes* by *Alexander*; this Prince designing the Conquest

quest of *Athens*, was prevented by *PHOCION* the *Athenian* General, then Ambassador from that State; who by his great Wisdom and Skill at Negotiations, diverted *Alexander* from his Design, and restored the *Athenians* to his Favour. The very same Success he had with *Antipater* after *Alexander's* Death, at which time the Government was new regulated by *Solon's* Laws: But *Polyperchon*, in hatred to *Phocion*, having by Order of the young King (whose Governour he was) restored those whom *Phocion* had banished; the Plot succeeded, *Phocion* was accused by Popular Orators, and put to Death.

THIS was the most powerful Commonwealth of all *Greece*, after great degeneracies from the Institution of *Solon*, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the People, which was never satisfied to see a General either *Victorious* or *Unfortunate*; such ill Judges, as well as Rewarders, have *Popular Assemblies* been, of those who best deserved from them.

NOW

NOW the Circumstance which makes these Examples of more Importance, is, that this very Power of the People in *Athens*, claimed so confidently for an *inherent Right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted Privilege* of an Athenian born, was the rankest Encroachment imaginable, and the grossest Degeneracy from the Form that *Solon* left them. In short, their Government was grown into a *Dominatio plebis*, or *Tyranny of the People*, who by degrees had broke and overthrew the Ballance which that Legislator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already said of that Law-giver; but more manifestly from a Passage in

Lib. 18. *Diodorus*; who tells us, That Antipater one of Alexander's Captains, abrogated the Popular Government (in Athens) and restored the power of Suffrages and Magistracy, to such only as were worth two thousand Drachmas; by which means, (says he) that Republick came to be [again] administred by the Laws of *Solon*. By this Quotation, 'tis manifest, that great Author look'd upon

Solon's

Solon's Institution, and a Popular Government to be two different Things. And as for this Restoration by *Antipater*, it had neither Consequence nor Continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more Examples, but these are sufficient : and it may be worth the Readers time to reflect a little upon the Merits of the Cause, as well as of the Men who had been thus dealt with by their Country. I shall direct him no further than by repeating, that *Aristides* was the most renowned by the People themselves for his exact *Justice and Knowledge in the Law*. That *Themistocles* was a most fortunate Admiral, and had got a mighty Victory over the great King of Persia's Fleet ; That *Pericles* was an able Minister of State, an excellent Orator, and a Man of Letters ; And lastly, that *Phocion*, besides the Success of his Arms, was also renowned for his Negotiations abroad, having in an Embassy brought the greatest Monarch of the World at that time, to the Terms of an honourable Peace, by which his Country was preserved.

D

I shall

I shall conclude my Remarks upon *Athens*, with the Character given us of that People by *Polybius*. About this time (says he) the Athenians were Governed by two Men, quite sunk in their Affairs; had little or no Commerce with the rest of Greece, and were become great Reverencers of Crown'd Heads.

Polyb.

FOR from the time of *Alexander's* Captains, till Greece was subdued by the *Romans* (to the latter part of which this Description of *Polybius* falls in) *Athens* never produced one famous Man either for Counsels or Arms, or hardly for Learning. And indeed it was a dark insipid Period through all Greece: for except the *Achaian* League under *Aratus* and *Philopæmen*, and the endeavours of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* to restore the State of *Sparta*, so frequently harrassed by Tyrannies occasioned by the Popular Practises of the *Ephori*, there was very little worth Recording. All which Consequences may perhaps be justly imputed to this Degeneracy of *Athens*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Dissentions between
the Patricians and Ple-
beians in Rome, with
the Consequences they had
upon that State.*

HAVING in the foregoing Chap-
ter confined my self to the Pro-
ceedings of the Commons, only by
the Method of *Impeachments* against
particular Persons, with the fatal Ef-
fects they had upon the State of *Athens*;
I shall now treat of the Dissentions at
Rome between the People and the
Collective Body of the *Patricians* or
Nobles. It is a large Subject, but I
shall draw it into as narrow a Compass
as I can.

Dionys. Halicarn.

AS *Greece* from the most antient Accounts we have of it, was divided into several Kingdoms, so was most part of *Italy* into several petty Commonwealths. And as those Kings in *Greece* are said to have been deposed by their People upon the Score of their Arbitrary Proceedings; so on the contrary, the Commonwealths of *Italy* were all swallowed up, and concluded in the Tyranny of the *Roman* Emperors. However, the Differences between those *Grecian* Monarchies, and *Italian* Republicks, were not very great: For, by the Accounts *Homer* gives us of those *Grecian* Princes who came to the Siege of *Troy*, as well as by several Passages in the *Odyssey*; it is manifest, that the Power of these Princes in their several States, was much of a size with that of the Kings in *Sparta*, the Archon at *Athens*, the Suffetes at *Carthage*, and the Consuls in *Rome*: So that a limited and divided Power seems to have been the most ancient and inherent Principles of both those People in Matters of Government. And such did that of *Rome*
continue

continue from the time of *Romulus*, tho' with some interruptions, to *Julius Cæsar*, when it ended in the Tyranny of a single Person. During which Period, (not many Years longer than from the *Norman* Conquest to our Age) the Commons were growing by degrees into Power and Property, gaining Ground upon the Patricians as it were Inch by Inch, till at last they quite overturned the Balance, leaving all Doors open to the Practices of popular and ambitious Men, who destroyed the Wisest Republick, and enslaved the Noblest People that ever entred upon the Stage of the World. By what Steps and Degrees this was brought to pass, shall be the Subject of my present Enquiry.

WHILE *Rome* was governed by Kings, the Monarchy was altogether Elective. *Romulus* himself, when he had built the City, was declared King by the universal Consent of the People, and by Augury, which was then understood for *Divine Appointment*. Among other Divisions he made of the People, one was into *Patricians*

and *Plebeians*: The former were like the Barons of *England* some time after the Conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then. For, they were Dependants upon the Patricians, whom they chose for their Patrons and Protectors, to answer for their Appearance, and defend them in any Process: They also supplied their Patrons with Money in exchange for their Protection. This Custom of *Patronage*, it seems, was very antient, and long practised among the *Greeks*.

OUT of these Patricians, *Romulus* chose an hundred to be 'a *Senate* or *Grand Council*, for Advice and Assistance to him in the Administration. The Senate therefore, originally consisted all of *Nobles*, and were of themselves a *Standing Council*, the *People* being only convoked upon such Occasions as by this Institution of *Romulus* fell into their Cognizance: Those were, to constitute Magistrates, to give their Votes for making Laws, and to advise upon entering on a War. But the two former of these popular
Pri-

Privileges were to be confirm'd by Authority of the Senate; and the last was only permitted at the King's Pleasure. This was the utmost Extent of Power pretended by the *Commons* in the time of *Romulus*; all the rest being divided between the King and the Senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the Constitution of *England* for some Centuries after the Conquest.

AFTER a Year's *interregnum* from the Death of *Romulus*, the Senate of their own Authority chose a Successor, and a Stranger, meerly upon the Fame of his Virtue, without asking the Consent of the *Commons*; which Custom they likewise observed in the two following Kings. But in the Election of *Tarquinius Priscus* the fifth King, we first hear mentioned that it was done, *Populi impetratâ veniâ*, which indeed was but very reasonable for a free People to expect; tho' I cannot remember in my little reading, by what Incidents they were brought to advance so great a Step. However it were, this Prince in Gratitude to the

People by whose Consent he was chosen, elected a hundred Senators out of the Commons, whose Number with former Additions was now amounted to three hundred.

THE People having once discovered their own Strength, did soon take occasion to exert it, and that by very great Degrees. For at this King's Death (who was murder'd by the Sons of a former) being at a loss for a Successor, *Servius Tullius*, a Stranger, and of mean Extraction, was chosen Protector of the Kingdom, by the People, without the Consent of the Senate; at which the Nobles being displeased, he wholly applyed himself, to gratifie the Commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector but King.

THIS Prince first introduced the Custom of giving freedom to Servants, so as to become Citizens of equal Privileges with the rest, which very much contributed to encrease the Power of the People.

THUS

THUS in a very few Years the Commons proceeded so far as to wrest even the Power of chusing a King, entirely out of the Hands of the Nobles: which was so great a Leap, and caused such a Convulsion and Struggle in the State, that the Constitution could not bear it; but Civil Dissensions arose, which immediately were followed by the Tyranny of a single Person, as this was by the utter Subversion of the Regal Government, and by a Settlement upon a new Foundation. For the Nobles spighted at this Indignity done them by the Commons, firmly united in a Body, deposed this Prince by plain force, and chose *Tarquin the Proud*, who running into all the Forms and Methods of Tyranny, after a cruel Reign was expelled by an universal Concurrence of Nobles and People, whom the Miseries of his Reign had reconciled.

WHEN the Consular Government began, the Balance of Power between the Nobles and Plebeians was fixed anew. The two first Consuls were
nomi-

nominated by the Nobles, and confirmed by the Commons; and a Law was enacted that no Person should bear any Magistracy in *Rome*, *injussu Populi*; that is, without Consent of the Commons.

* *Ab Urbe
conditâ.*

IN such turbulent Times as these, many of the poorer Citizens had contracted numerous Debts, either to the richer sort among themselves, or to Senators and other Nobles: and the Case of Debtors in *Rome*, for the first four * Centuries, was, after the set time for Payment, no Choice but either to pay or be the Creditor's Slave. In this Juncture the Commons quit the City in Mutiny and Discontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their Debts; and moreover, that certain Magistrates be chosen yearly; whose Business it shall be to defend the Commons from Injuries. These are called *Tribunes of the People*, their Persons are held Sacred and Inviolable, and the People bind themselves by Oath never to abrogate the Office. By these Tribunes in process of time, the People were

were grossly imposed on to serve the Turns and Occasions of revengeful or ambitious Men, and to commit such Exorbitances as could not end, but in the Dissolution of the Government.

THESE Tribunes a Year or two after their Institution kindled great Dissentions between the Nobles and the Commons, on the account of *Coriolanus*, a Nobleman, whom the latter had *Impeached*, and the Consequences of whose Impeachment (if I had not confined my self to *Grecian* Examples for that part of my Subject) had like to have been so fatal to their State. And from this time the Tribunes began a Custom of accusing to the People whatever Noble they pleas'd, several of whom were Banish'd or put to Death in every Age.

AT this time the *Romans* were very much engaged in Wars with their Neighbouring States; but upon the least Intervals of Peace, the Quarrels between the Nobles and the Plebeians would revive; and one of the most frequent Subjects of their Differences
was

was the *Conquered Lands*, which the Commons would fain have divided among the Publick; but the Senate could not be brought to give their Consent. For several of the wisest among the Nobles began to apprehend the growing Power of the People; and therefore knowing what an Accession thereof would accrue to them by such an Addition of Property, used all means to prevent it: For this the *Appian* Family was most noted, and thereupon most hated by the Commons. One of them having made a Speech against this Division of Lands, was Impeach'd by the People of High Treason, and a Day appointed for his Tryal; but disdaining to make his Defence, chose rather the usual *Roman* Remedy of killing himself: After whose Death the Commons prevailed, and the Lands were divided among them.

THIS point was no sooner gained, but new Dissentions began: For the Plebeians would fain have a Law Enacted, to lay all Mens Rights and Privileges upon the same level; and to enlarge

enlarge the Power of every Magistrate within his own Jurisdiction, as much as that of the Consuls. The Tribunes also obtained to have their Number doubled, which before was Five, and the Author tells us, that their Inf-^{Dionys.} lence and Power encreased with their ^{Halica.} Number, and the Seditions were also doubled with it.

BY the beginning of the Fourth Century from the Building of *Rome*, the Tribunes proceeded so far in the name of the Commons, as to accuse and fine the Consuls themselves, who represented the Kingly Power. And the Senate observing, how in all Contentions they were forc'd to yield to the Tribunes and People, thought it their wisest course to give way also to Time: Therefore a Decree was made to send Ambassadors to *Athens*, and to the other *Grecian* Commonwealths planted in that part of *Italy*, call'd *Græcia Major*, to make a Collection of the best Laws; out of which and some of their own, a new complete Body of Law was formed, afterwards known

known by the name of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*:

TO digest these Laws into Order, Ten Men were Chosen, and the Administration of all Affairs left in their Hands; what use they made of it has been already shewn. It was certainly a great Revolution, produced entirely by the many unjust Encroachments of the People; and might have wholly changed the Fate of *Rome*, if the Folly and Vice of those who were chiefly concern'd, could have suffered it to take Root.

A few Years after, the Commons made further Advances on the Power of the Nobles; demanding among the rest, that the Consulship, which hitherto had only been disposed to the former, should now lie in common to the Pretensions of any *Roman* whatsoever. This, tho' it fail'd at present, yet afterward obtain'd, and was a mighty Step to the Ruin of the Commonwealth.

WHAT

WHAT I have hitherto said of Rome has been chiefly Collected out of that exact and diligent Writer *Dionysius Halicarnassens*; whose History (thro' the injury of time) reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth Century after the Building of Rome. The rest I shall supply from other Authors; tho' I do not think it necessary to deduce this Matter any further, so very particularly as I have hitherto done.

TO point at what Time the Balance of Power was most equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in Rome, would perhaps admit a Controversie. *Polybius* tells us, that in the second *Punick War*, the *Carthaginians* were declining, because the Balance was got too much on the side of the People; whereas the *Romans* were in their greatest Vigour, by the Power remaining in the Senate; yet this was between Two and Three Hundred Years after the Period *Dionysius* ends with; in which time the *Commons* had made several further Acquisitions. This however

*Fragm.
lib. 6.*

*Dionys. Hal.
Plutarch,
&c.*

however must be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth Century) when the Senate appeared resolute at any time upon exerting their Authority, and adhered closely together, they did often carry their point. Besides, it is observed by the best Authors, that in all the Quarrels and Tumults at *Rome*, from the expulsion of the Kings; tho' the People frequently proceeded to rude contumelious Language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the *Forum*; yet no Blood was ever drawn in any popular Commotions till the time of the *Gracchi*. However, I am of Opinion, that the Balance had begun many years before to lean to the popular side; But this default was corrected, partly by the Principle just mentioned, of never drawing Blood in a Tumult; partly by the Warlike Genius of the People, which in those Ages was almost perpetually employ'd; and partly by their great Commanders, who by the Credit they had in their Armies, fell into the Scales as a further counterpoise to the growing Power of the People. Besides, *Polybius*, who liv'd in

in the time of *Scipio Africanus* the younger, had the same apprehensions of the continual Encroachments made by the Commons; and being a Person of as great Abilities, and as much Sagacity as any of his Age; from observing the Corruptions which he says had already entred into the *Roman* Constitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the Issue of them. His Words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendred to this purpose. *That those Abuses and Lib. 5. Corruptions which in time destroy a Government, are sown along with the very Seeds of it, and both grow up together. And that as Rust eats away Iron, and Worms devour Wood, and both are a sort of Plagues born and bred along with the substance they destroy; so with every Form and Scheme of Government that Man can invent, some Vice or Corruption creeps in with the very Institution, which grows up along with, and at last destroys it.* The same Author in *fragm. lib. 6.* another place, ventures so far as to guess at the particular Fate which would attend the *Roman* Government. He says, its Ruin would arise from popular

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popular Tumults, which would introduce a *Dominatio Plebis*, or Tyranny of the People; wherein 'tis certain he had reason; and therefore might have adventured to pursue his conjectures so far, as to the Consequences of a popular Tyranny, which as perpetual Experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the Arbitrary Government of a single Person.

About the middle of the Fourth Century from the Building of *Rome*, it was declared lawful for *Nobles* and *Plebeians* to intermarry; which Custom among many other States, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now the greatest Employments in the State were one after another, by Laws forceably Enacted by the *Commons*, made free to the People; the *Consulship* it self, the Office of *Censor*, that of the *Questors*, or *Commissioners of the Treasury*, the Office of *Prætor*, or Chief Justice, the *Priesthood*, and even that of *Dictator*. The Senate
after

after long Opposition, yielding meerly for present quiet to the continual urging Clamours of the *Commons*, and of the *Tribunes* their Advocates. A Law was likewise Enacted, that the *Plebiscita*, or *A Vote of the House of Commons*, should be of universal Obligation; nay in time the method of Enacting Laws was wholly inverted: For whereas the Senate used of old to confirm the *Plebiscita*; the People *Dionys. Hal. lib. 2.* did at last as they pleased, confirm or disanul the *Senatusconsulta*.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS brought in a Custom of admitting to the Senate the Sons of Freed Men, or of such who had once been Slaves; by which, and succeeding alterations of the like nature, that great Council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious Body of Men, divided against it self; and its Authority became despis'd.

THE Century and half following, to the end of the third *Punick* War by the destruction of *Carthage*, was a very busie Period at *Rome*: The Intervals

between every War being so short, that the *Tribunes* and *People* had hardly Leisure or Breath to engage in Domestic Dissentions; However, the little time they could spare, was generally employ'd the same way. So *Terentius Leo*, a *Tribune*, is recorded to have basely prostituted the Privileges of a *Roman Citizen*, in perfect spight to the *Nobles*. So the great *African Scipio* and his Brother, after all their mighty Services were Impeached by an ungrateful *Commons*.

HOWEVER, the Warlike Genius of the *People*, and continual Employment they had for it, served to divert this Humor from running into a Head, till the Age of the *Gracchi*.

THESE Persons entring the Scene in the time of a full Peace, fell violently upon advancing the Power of the *People*, by reducing into practice all those Encroachments which they had been so many years a gaining. There were at that time certain *Conquered Lands*, to be divided, beside a
great

great private Estate left by a King. These the Tribunes, by procurement of the elder *Gracchus*, declared by their Legislative Authority, were not to be disposed of by the *Nobles*, but by the *Commons* only. The younger Brother pursued the same design; and besides, obtained a Law, that all *Italians* should vote at Elections, as well as the Citizens of *Rome*: in short, the whole Endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *Nobles* Authority in all things, but especially in the matter of *Judicature*. And tho' they both lost their Lives in those pursuits, yet they traced out such ways as were afterwards followed by *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, to the Ruin of the *Roman* freedom and greatness.

FOR, in the time of *Marius*, *Saturninus* a Tribune procur'd a Law that the Senate should be bound by Oath to agree to whatever the People would Enact: And *Marius* himself, while he was in that Office of Tribune is recorded to have with great Industry used all Endeavours for depressing the

E 3 *Nobles*

Nobles, and raising the People; particularly for cramping the former in their *Power of Judicature*, which was *their most ancient and inherent Right*.

SYLLA, by the same measures became perfect Tyrant of *Rome*; He added Three Hundred Commons to the Senate, which perplexed the Power of the whole Order, and rendered it ineffectual; then flinging off the Mask, he abolished the Office of Tribune, as being only a Scaffold to Tyranny, whereof he had no further use.

AS to *Pompey* and *Cesar*, *Plutarch* tells us, that their union for pulling down the *Nobles*, (by their credit with the People) was the cause of the Civil War, which ended in the Tyranny of the latter; both of them in their Consulships having used all endeavours and occasions for sinking the Authority of the *Patricians*, and giving way to all Encroachments of the People, wherein they expected best to find their own Accounts.

FROM

FROM this deduction of popular Encroachments in *Rome*, the Reader will easily judge how much the Balance was fallen upon that side. Indeed by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impossibility that the Republick could subsist any longer. For the Commons having usurped the Office of the State, and trampled on the Senate, there was no Government left but a *dominatio Plebis*: Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is an universal Truth, that the People are much more dexterous at pulling down and setting up, than at preserving what is fixt; And they are not sonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worst Bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For altho' in their corrupt Notions of Divine Worship, they are apt to multiply their Gods; yet their Earthly Devotion is seldom paid to above one Idol at a time, of their own Creation; whose *Oar* they pull with less mur-

muring and much more Skill than when they *share the Lading*, or even *hold the Helm*.

THE several Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were now Govern'd by the great Men of their State; those upon the Frontiers with powerful Armies, either for Conquest or Defence. These Governors upon any designs of Revenge or Ambition, were sure to meet with a divided Power at home, and therefore bent all their Thoughts and Applications to close in with the People, who were now by many degrees the stronger Party. Two of the greatest Spirits that *Rome* ever produced, happen'd to live at the same time, and to be engaged in the same Pursuit; and this at a juncture the most dangerous for such a Contest. These were *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, two Stars of such a Magnitude, that their *Conjunction* was as likely to be Fatal as their *Opposition*.

THE *Tribunes* and People having now Subdued all Competitors, began the last game of a prevalent Populace, which

which is that of chusing themselves a *Master*; while the Nobles foresaw, and used all endeavours left them, to prevent it. The People at first made *Pompey* their Admiral with full power over all the *Mediterranean*; soon after Captain General of all the *Roman* Forces, and Governor of *Asia*. *Pompey* on the other side restored the Office of *Tribune*, which *Sylla* had put down; and in his Consulship procur'd a Law for examining into the *Miscarriages* of Men in Office or Command for Twenty Years past. Many other Examples of *Pompey's* Popularity are left us on Record, who was a perfect Favourite of the People, and design'd to be more; but his pretensions grew stale, for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the Stage. For *Cæsar*, with his Legions in *Gaul*, was a perpetual Check upon his Designs; and in the Arts of pleasing the People, did soon after get many Lengths beyond him. For he tells us himself that the Senate by a bold effort having made some severe Decrees against his Proceedings, and against the *Tribunes*; these all left the City and went over

to his Party, and consequently along with them, the Affections and Interests of the People; which is further manifest from the Accounts he gives us of the Citizens in several Towns, mutining against their Commanders, and delivering both to his Devotion. Besides, *Cæsar's* publick and avowed Pretensions for beginning the Civil-War, were to restore the Tribunes and the People, oppress'd (as he pretended) by the *Nobles*.

THIS forced *Pompey* against his Inclinations, upon the Necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the Senate and chief Magistrates, by whom he was chosen General against *Cæsar*.

THUS at length, the Senate (at least the Primitive part of them, the Nobles) under *Pompey*, and the Commons under *Cæsar*, came to a final Decision of the long Quarrels between them. For, I think, the Ambition of private Men, did by no means begin or occasion this War; though Civil Dissentions never fail of introducing
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and spiriting the Ambition of private Men; who thus became indeed the great Instruments for deciding of such Quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the Prize. But no Man that sees a Flock of Vultures hovering over two Armies ready to engage, can justly charge the Blood drawn in the Battle to them, though the Carcases fall to their share. For while the Balance of Power is equally held, the Ambition of private Men whether Orators or great Commanders, gives neither Danger nor Fear, nor can possibly enslave their Country; but That once broken, the divided Parties are forced to unite each to its Head, under whose Conduct or Fortune one side is at first Victorious, and at last both are Slaves. And to put it past dispute, that this entire Subversion of the *Roman* Liberty and Constitution, was altogether owing to those Measures which had broke the Balance between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, whereof the Ambition of particular Men was but an Effect and Consequence; we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted Part of the Senate, had by the Death of
Cæsar

Cæsar made one great Effort to restore their former State and Liberty; the Success did not answer their hopes, but that whole Assembly was so sunk in its Authority, that those Patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the Madness of the People; who by their own Dispositions stirred up with the Harangues of their Orators, were now wholly bent upon Single and Despotick Slavery. Else, how could such a Profligate as *Antony*, or a Boy of eighteen, like *Octavius*, ever dare to dream of giving the Law to such an Empire and People? wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest Tyranny that Heaven in its Anger ever inflicted on a Corrupt and Poison'd People. And this, with so little Appearance at *Cæsar's* Death, that when *Cicero* wrote to *Brutus*, how he had prevailed by his Credit with *Octavius*, to promise him (*Brutus*) Pardon and Security for his Person, that Great *Roman* received the Notice with the utmost Indignity, and returned *Cicero* an Answer (yet upon Record) full of the highest Resentment and Contempt for such an Offer, and from such a Hand.

HERE

HERE ended all Shew or Shadow of Liberty in *Rome*. Here was the Repository of all the wise Contentions and Struggles for Power, between the Nobles and Commons, lapt up safely in the Bosom of a *Nero* and a *Caligula*, a *Tiberius* and a *Domitian*.

LET us now see from this Deduction of particular Impeachments, and general Dissensions in *Greece* and *Rome*, what Conclusions may naturally be formed for Instruction of any other State, that may haply upon many Points labour under the like Circumstances.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the Subject of *Impeachments* we may observe, that the Custom of accusing the *Nobles* to the *People*, either by themselves or their *Orators*, (now stiled *An Impeachment in the Name of the Commons*) has been very antient both in *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as *Carthage*; and therefore may seem to be the inherent Right of a free *People*; nay perhaps it is really so; But then, it is to be considered, First, that this Custom was peculiar to *Republicks*, or such States where the Administration was principally in the Hands of the *Commons*, and ever raged more or less according to their *Encroachments* upon absolute Power; having been always lookt upon by the wisest Men, and best Authors of those times, as an Effect of *Licentiousness*, and not of *Liberty*; a Distinction which no Multitude either *Represented* or *Collective*, has been at any time very Nice in observing. However, perhaps this Custom

Custom in a Popular State, of Impeaching particular Men, may seem to be nothing else but the Peoples chusing upon Occasion, to exercise their own Jurisdiction in Person, as if a King of *England* should sit as Chief Justice in his Court of *King's Bench*, which they say, in former times, he sometimes did. But in *Sparta*, which was called a kingly Government, though the People were perfectly free, yet because the Administration was in the two Kings, and the *Ephori* (with the Assistance of the Senate) we read of no Impeachments by the People, nor was the Process against great Men, either upon account of Ambition or ill Conduct, though it reacht sometimes to Kings themselves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect: but only past through those Hands where the Administration lay. So likewise during the Regal Government in *Rome*, though it was instituted a mixt Monarchy, and the People made great Advances in Power; yet I do not remember to have read of one Impeachment from the Commons against a Patrician, till the Consular State began, and the People had made
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great Encroachments upon the Administration.

Another thing to be considered is, That, allowing this Right of Impeaching to be as inherent as they please: Yet, if the Commons have been perpetually mistaken in the Merits of the Causes and the Persons, as well as in the Consequences of such Impeachments upon the Peace of the State; one cannot conclude less, than that the Commons in *Greece* and *Rome*, (whatever they may be in other States) were by no means qualified either as Prosecutors or Judges in such matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reserved these Privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging Occasions, where the State is in apparent danger, the universal Body of the People in Clamours against the Administration, and no other Remedy in view. But for a few Popular Orators or Tribunes upon the Score of *Personal Piques*; or to employ the Pride they conceive in seeing themselves at the Head of a Party; Or, as a Method for Advancement: Or, mov-
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themselves at the Head of a Party; Or as a Method for Advancement: Or moved by certain powerful Arguments that could make Demosthenes Philippize; For such Men, I say, when the State would of it self gladly be quiet, and has besides Affairs of the last Importance upon the Anvil, to Impeach Miltiades after a great Naval Victory for not pursuing the Persian Fleet. To Impeach Aristides, the Person most versed among them in the Knowledge and Practice of their Laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in an Arbitrary way; (that is, as they expounded it, not in Concert with the People) To Impeach Pericles, after all his Services for a few Paultry Accounts; Or to Impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other Crime but negotiating a Treaty for the Peace and Security of his Country: what could the Continuance of such Proceedings end in, but the utter Discouragements of all virtuous Actions and Persons, and consequently in the Ruin of a State? Therefore the Historians of those Ages seldom fail to set this Matter in all its Lights; leaving us the highest and most honorable

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nable *Ideas* of those Persons, who suffered by the Persecution of the People, together with the fatal Consequences they had, and how the Persecutors seldom failed to repent when it was too late.

THESE Impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the best Men both in *Greece* and *Rome*, are a Cloud of Witnesses, and Examples enough to discourage Men of Virtue and Abilities from engaging in the Service of the Publick; and help on t'other side, to introduce the Ambitious, the Covetous, the Superficial, and the ill-designing; who are as apt to be Bold, and Forward, and Meddling, as the former are to be Cautious, and Modest, and Reserved. This was so well known in *Greece*, that an Eagerness after Employments in the State, was lookt upon by wise Men, as the worst Title one could set up; and made *Plato* say; *That if all Men were as good as they ought, the Quarrel in a Commonwealth would be, not as it is now, who should be Ministers of State, but who should not be so.* And *Socrates*

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is introduced by *Xenophon* severely Lib. 3. Memorab. chiding a Friend of his for not entering into the Publick Service, when he was every way qualified for it. Such a Backwardness there was at that time among good Men to engage with an usurping People, and a Set of *pragmatical ambitious Orators*. And *Diodorus* Lib. II. tells us, that when the *Petalism* was erected at *Syracuse*, in imitation of the *Ostracism* at *Athens*, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either Birth or Merit to recommend them, that whoever had either, withdrew for Fear, and would have no Concern in Publick Affairs. So that the People themselves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all things into Confusion.

THERE is one thing more to be observed, wherein all the Popular Impeachments in *Greece* and *Rome*, seem to have agreed; and that was, a Notion they had of being concerned in Point of Honour to condemn whatever Person they Impeached: however frivolous the Articles were upon which

they began, or however weak the Surmises whereon they were to proceed in their Proofs. For, to conceive, that the Body of the People could be mistaken, was an Indignity not to be imagined, till the Consequences had convinced them when it was past Remedy. And I look upon this as a Fate to which all Popular Accusations are Subject; though I should think that the saying, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the Universal Bent and Current of a People, not of the *bare Majority* of a few Representatives; which is often procured by *little Arts*, and great Industry and Application, wherein those who engage in the Pursuits of Malice and Revenge, are much more Sedulous than such as would prevent them.

FROM what has been deduced of the *Dissentions* in *Rome*, between the two Bodies of Patricians and Plebeians, several Reflections may be made.

First, THAT when the Balance of Power is duly fixed in a State, nothing

nothing is more dangerous or unwise than to give way to the *first Steps* of Popular Encroachments; which is usually done either in hopes of procuring Ease and Quiet from some vexatious Clamor, or else *made Merchandise, and meerly Bought and Sold*. This is, breaking into a Constitution to serve a present Expedient, or supply a present Exigency: The Remedy of an Empirick, to stifle the present Pain, but with certain Prospect of sudden and terrible Returns. When a Child grows easie and content by being humoured; and when a Lover becomes satisfied by small Compliances, without further Pursuits; then expect to find Popular Assemblies content with small Concessions. If there could one single Example be brought from the whole Compass of History, of any one Popular Assembly, who after beginning to contend for Power, ever sat down quietly with a certain Share: Or, if one Instance could be produced of a Popular Assembly, that ever knew, or proposed, or declared what share of Power was their due; then might there be some hopes, that it were a

Matter to be adjusted, by Reasonings, by Conferences, or Debates: But since all that is manifestly otherwise, I see no Course to be taken in a settled State, but a steady constant Resolution in those to whom the rest of the Balance is entrusted, never to give way so far to Popular Clamours, as to make the least Breach in the Constitution, through which a Million of Abuses and Encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

AGAIN, from this Deduction, it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain Marks of Popular Encroachments; by observing of which, those who hold the Balance in a State, may judge of the Degrees, and by early Remedies and Application, put a Stop to the fatal Consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those Marks are, has been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

ANOTHER Consequence is this: That (with all Respect for popular Assemblies be it spoke) it is hard to recollect one Folly, Infirmary, or Vice,
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to which a single Man is subjected, and from which a Body of Commons either collective or represented can be wholly exempt. For, besides that they are composed of Men with all their Infirmities about them; they have also the ill Fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves; I mean, *Popular Orators, Tribunes*, or as they are now stiled, *Great Speakers, Leading Men*, and the like. From whence it comes to pass, that in their Results we have sometimes found the same Spirit of Cruelty and Revenge, of Malice and Pride; the same Blindness and Obstinacy, and Unsteadiness; the same ungovernable Rage and Anger; the same Injustice, Sophistry, and Fraud, that ever lodged in the Breast of any Individual.

AGAIN, In all Free States the Evil to be avoided is *Tyranny*: That is to say, the *Summa Imperii*, or unlimited Power solely in the Hands of the *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*. Now, we have shewn, that although most Revolutions of Government in

Greece and Rome began with the Tyranny of the People, yet they generally concluded in that of a Single Person; so that an usurping Populace is its own *Dupe*; a meer Underworker, and a Purchaser in Trust for some Single Tyrant, whose State and Power they advance to their own Ruin, with as blind an Instinct, as those Worms that die with weaving magnificent Habits for beings of a Superior Nature to their own.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

SOME Reflections upon the late publick Proceedings among us, and that variety of Factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave Occasion to this Discourse. I am not conscious that I have forced one Example, or put it into any other Light than it appeared to me, long before I had thoughts of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding some particular Remarks upon the present Posture of Affairs and Dispositions in this Kingdom.

THE Fate of Empire is grown a common place: That all forms of Government having been instituted by Men, must be mortal like their Authors, and have their Periods of Duration limited as well as those of private Persons; This is a Truth of
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vulgar Knowledge and Observation: But there are few who turn their Thoughts to examine how those Diseases in a State are bred, that hasten its End; which would however be a very useful Enquiry. For tho' we cannot prolong the Period of a Commonwealth beyond the Decree of Heaven, or the Date of its Nature, any more than Humane Life beyond the Strength of the Seminal Virtue; yet, we may manage a sickly Constitution, and preserve a strong one; we may watch and prevent Accidents; we may turn off a great Blow from without, and purge away an ill Humour that is lurking within: And by these, and other such Methods, render a State long-lived, tho' not immortal. Yet some Physicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the several Humours of the Body, in an exact equal Balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal; and so perhaps would a political Body, if the Balance of Power could be always held exactly even. But I doubt, this is as impossible in the Practice as the other.

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IT has an Appearance of Fatality, and that the Period of a State approaches, when a Concurrence of many Circumstances both within and without, unite toward its Ruin ; while the whole Body of the People are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in with all their Might, to those very Practices that are working their Destruction. To see whole Bodies of Men breaking a Constitution by the very same Errors that so many have been broke before. To observe opposite Parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such Measures as must certainly ruin their Country. In short, to be encompass'd with the greatest Dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent Factions within ; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our Concern. These and some others that might be named, appear to me to be the most likely Symptoms in a State, of a *Sickness unto Death*.

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Quod procul à nobis fleat Fortuna guber-
(nans :
Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.
 Lucr.

THERE are some Conjunctions wherein the Death or Dissolution of Government is more lamentable in its Consequences than it would be in others. And, I think, a State can never arrive to its Period in a more deplorable *Crisis*, than at a Time when some *Prince in the Neighbourhood*, of vast Power and Ambition lies hovering like a Vulture to devour, or at least, dismember its dying Carcass; by which means it becomes only a Province or Acquisition to some mighty Monarchy, without hopes of a Resurrection.

I KNOW very well, there is a Set of sanguine Tempers, who deride and ridicule in the Number of Fopperies all such Apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their Mouths, that the People of *England* are of a Genius and Temper, never to admit Slavery among

among them; and they are furnish'd with a great many common Places upon that Subject. But, it seems to me, that such Discourfers do reason upon short Views, and a very moderate compass of Thought. For, I think it a great Error to count upon the Genius of a Nation as a standing Argument in all Ages; since there is hardly a Spot of Ground in *Europe*, where the Inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their Temper and Genius. Neither can I see any Reason why the Genius of a Nation should be more fixed in the Point of Government, than in their Morals, their Learning, their Religion, their common Humour and Conversation, their Diet, and their Complexion; which do all notoriously vary almost in every Age, and may every one of them have great Effects upon Mens Notions of Government.

SINCE the *Norman* Conquest, the Balance of Power in *England* has often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned; the Part which the Commons had in it, *that most disputed Point*
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in its Original, Progress and Extent, was, by their own Confessions, but a very inconsiderable share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, tho' with frequent Interruptions, and slow Progress. The abolishing of *Villanage*, together with the Custom introduced (or permitted) among the Nobles of selling their Lands in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was a mighty Addition to the Power of the Commons; yet I think a much greater happened in the Time of his Successor, at the Dissolution of the Abbies. For this turned the *Clergy* wholly out of the Scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the *Commons* in their stead; who in a few Years became possessed of vast Quantities of those and other Lands, by Grant or Purchase. About the middle of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, I take the Power between the Nobles and the Commons to have been in more equal Balance, than it was ever before or since. But then, or soon after, arose a Faction in *England*, which under the Name of *Puritan*, began to grow Popular, by molding up their new Schemes of Religion with

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Republican Principles in Government; and gaining upon the *Prerogative*, as well as the *Nobles*, under several Denominations for the space of about sixty Years, did at last overthrow the Constitution, and according to the usual Course of such Revolutions, did introduce a Tyranny, first of the People, and then of a single Person.

IN a short Time after, the Old Government was revived. But the Progress of Affairs for almost Thirty Years under the Reigns of two weak Princes, is a Subject of a very different Nature; when the Balance was in danger to be overturned by the Hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late Revolution. However, as it is the Talent of human Nature to run from one Extream to another; so, in a very few Years we have made mighty Leaps from Prerogative Heights into the Depths of Popularity; and I doubt, to the very last degree that our Constitution will bear. It were to be wish'd, that the most August Assembly of the Commons would please to form a *Pandect* of their own
Power

Power and Privileges, to be confirmed by the entire Legislative Authority, and that in as solemn a manner (if they please) as the *Magna Charta*. But to fix one Foot of their Compass wherever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible Lengths, without describing any Circumference at all, is to leave us and themselves in a very uncertain State, and in a sort of *Rotation*, that the Author of the *Oceana* never dreamt on. I believe the most hardy Tribune will not venture to affirm at present, that any just Fears of Encroachment are given us from the Regal Power or the *Few*: And, is it then impossible to err on the other side? How far must we proceed, or where shall we stop? *The Raging of the Sea*, and *the Madness of the People* are put together in Holy Writ; and 'tis God alone who can say to either, *Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no further*.

THE Balance of Power in a limited State is of such absolute Necessity, that *Cromwell* himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his Tyranny, having some Occasions for the Appearance of
a Par-

a Parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new Houle of Lords (such as it was) for a Counterpoise to the Commons. And indeed, considering the vileness of the Clay, I have sometimes wonder'd, that no Tribune of that Age durst ever venture to ask the *Potter*, *What dost thou make?* But it was then about the last Act of a Popular Usurpation, and *Fate* or *Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a single Person.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate and mistaken Results, which have at certain Times fallen from great Assemblies both Antient and Modern, and of other Countries as well as our own. This gave me the Opinion I mentioned a while ago, That publick Conventions are liable to all the Infirmities, Follies and Vices of private Men. To which, if there be any Exception, it must be of such Assemblies who act by *universal Concert, upon Publick Principles, and for Publick Ends*; such as proceed upon Debates without *unbecoming Warmths*,

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or Influence from particular Leaders and Inflamers ; such, whose Members instead of canvassing to procure Majorities for their private Opinions, are ready to comply with general sober Results, tho' contrary to their own Sentiments. Whatever Assemblies act by these and other Methods of the like Nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several Imperfections to which particular Men are subjected. But I think the Source of most Mistakes and Miscarriages in Matters debated by Publick Assemblies, arises from the Influence of private Persons upon great Numbers ; stiled in common Phrase, *Leading Men and Parties*. And therefore, when we sometimes meet a few Words put together, which is called the *Vote* or *Resolution* of an Assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to *Prudence* or *Publick Good*, it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a Vote has been conceived, and born and bred in a private Brain, afterwards raised and supported by an obsequious Party, and then with usual Methods confirmed by an *artificial* Majority. For, let us suppose
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five hundred Men, mixt in point of Sense and Honesty, as usually Assemblies are: And let us suppose these Men, proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the meer natural Motions of their own little or much Reason and Understanding; I do allow, that abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious and foolish Overtures would arise and flote a few Minutes; but then they would die and disappear. Because, this must be said in behalf of Human kind, that common Sense and plain Reason, while Men are disengaged from acquired Opinions, will ever have some general Influence upon their Minds; whereas the species of Folly and Vice are infinite, and so different in every Individual, that they could never procure a Majority, if other Corruptions did not enter to pervert Mens Understandings, and misguide their Wills.

TO describe how Parties are bread in an Assembly, would be a Work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosa plenum*

opus aleæ. Whether those who are Leaders, usually arrive at that Station more by a sort of Instinct, or secret Composition of their Nature, or Influence of the Stars, than by the Possession of any great Abilities, may be a point of much Dispute. But when the Leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be Followers. And Man is so apt to *imitate*; so much of the Nature of *Sheep*, (*Imitatores, servum Pecus*) that whoever is so bold to give the first great Leap over the Heads of those about him, (tho' he be the worst of the Flock) shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides, when Parties are once formed, the Stragglers look so ridiculous, and become so insignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the Herd, which at least will hide and protect them; and where to be much considered, requires only to be very violent.

BUT there is one Circumstance with Relation to Parties, which I take to be of all others most pernicious in a State; and I would be glad
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any Partisan would help me to a tolerable Reason, that because *Clodius* and *Curio* happen to agree with me in a few singular Notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all: Or, to state it at best, that because *Bibulus* the *Party-man* is perswaded that *Clodius* and *Curio* do really propose the Good of their Country as their chief End; therefore *Bibulus* shall be wholly guided and governed by them, in the Means and Measures towards it. Is it enough for *Bibulus* and the rest of the Herd to say without further examining, *I am of the side with Clodius, or I vote with Curio*; Are these proper Methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united Wisdom of the Nation*? Is it not possible, that upon some Occasions *Clodius* may be bold and insolent, born away by his Passion, malicious and revengeful; that *Curio* may be corrupt, and expose to sale his Tongue or his Pen. I conceive it far below the Dignity both of Human Nature, and Human Reason, to be engaged in any Party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile Conditions.

THIS Influence of *One* upon *Many*, which seems to be as great in a People *Represented*, as it was of old in the Commons *Collective*, together with the Consequences it has had upon the Legislature; has given me frequent Occasion to reflect upon what *Diodorus* tells us of one *Charondas*, a Lawgiver to the *Sybarites*, an antient People of *Italy*; who was so averse to all Innovation, especially when it was to proceed from particular Persons: And I suppose, that he might put it out of the Power of Men fond of their own Notions, to disturb the Constitution at their Pleasures, by advancing private Schemes; that he provided a Statute, that whoever proposed any Alteration to be made, should step out, and do it with a Rope about his Neck: If the Matter proposed, were generally approved, then it should pass into a Law; if it went in the Negative, the Proposer to be immediately *hang'd*. Great Ministers may talk of what Projects they please; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off*

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(as the present Phrase is) those hot, unquiet Spirits, who disturb Assemblies, and obstruct Publick Affairs, by gratifying their Pride, their Malice, their Ambition, or their Avarice.

THOSE who in a late Reign began the Distinction between the *Personal* and *Politick* Capacity, seem to have had Reason, if they judged of Princes by themselves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found thro' all Nature, a greater Difference between two Things, than there is between a Representing Commoner in the Function of his Publick Calling, and the same Person, when he acts in the common Offices of Life. Here, he allows himself to be upon a Level with the rest of Mortals: Here, he follows his own Reason, and his own Way; and rather affects a Singularity in his Actions and Thoughts, than servilely to copy either from the wisest of his Neighbours. In short, here his Folly, and his Wisdom, his Reason, and his Passions, are all of his own Growth, not the Eccho or Infusion of other Men. But when he is got near the Walls of his Assembly,

he assumes and affects an entire Set of very different Airs; he conceives himself a Being of a Superior Nature to those *without*, and acting in a Sphere where the vulgar Methods for the Conduct of Human life can be of no Use. He is listed in a Party where he neither knows the Temper, nor Designs, nor perhaps the Person of his Leader; by whose Opinions he follows and maintains with a Zeal and Faith as violent, as a young Scholar does those of a Philosopher, whose Sect he is taught to profess. He has neither Opinions, nor Thoughts, nor Actions, nor Talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his Leader, as Wind is thro' an Organ. The Nourishment he receives has been not only *chewed*, but *digested* before it comes into his Mouth. Thus instructed, he follows the *Party* right or wrong thro' all its Sentiments, and acquires a Courage and Stiffness of Opinion not at all congenial with him.

THIS encourages me to hope, that during this lucid Interval, the Members retired to their Homes, may suspend

suspend a while their *acquired Complexions*, and taught by the Calmness of the Scene and the Season; reassume the native sedateness of their Temper. If this should be so, it would be wise in them, as individual and private Mortals, to look back a little upon the Storms they have *raised*, as well as those they have *escaped*; To reflect, that they have been Authors of a new and wonderful Thing in *England*, which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal Favour of the Numbers they represent. To observe, how those whom they thought fit to persecute for Righteousness sake, have been openly caress'd by the People; and to remember how themselves sat in fear of their Persons from popular Rage. Now, if they would know the Secret of all this unpresidented Proceeding in their *Masters*; they must not impute it to their Freedom in Debate, or declaring their Opinions; but to that unparliamentary Abuse of setting Individuals upon their Shoulders, who were hated by God and Man. For, it seems, the Mass of the People, in such Conjunctions

atures as this, have opened their Eyes, and will not endure to be governed by *Clodius* and *Curio* at the Head of their *Myrmidons*, tho' these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own Representatives.

THIS Aversion of the People for the late Proceedings of the Commons, is an Accident, that if it last a while, might be improved to good Uses for setting the Balance of Power a little more upon an Equality, than their late Measures seem to promise or admit. This Accident may be imputed to two Causes. The First, is an universal Fear and Apprehension of the Greatness and Power of *France*, whereof the People in general seem to be very much and justly possess'd, and therefore cannot but resent to see it in so critical a Juncture, wholly laid aside by their *Ministers*, the Commons. The other Cause, is a great Love and Sense of Gratitude in the People towards their present King, grounded upon a long Opinion and Experience of his Merit, as well as Concessions to all their reasonable Desires ;

so

so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch Instances where he has in many things been hardly used. How long these Humours may last, (for Passions are momentary, and especially those of a Multitude) or what Consequences they may produce, a little time may discover. But whenever it comes to pass, that a popular Assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possess'd of more Power, than an equal Balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the Hand that holds the Balance, and by Impeachments or Dissentions with the Nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see in the common course of things, how the same Causes can produce different Effects and Consequences among us, from what they did in *Greece* and *Rome*.

THERE is one thing I must needs add, tho' I reckon it will appear to many as a very unreasonable Paradox. When the Act Passed some years ago against Bribing of Elections; I remember to have said upon occasion, to some
Persons

Persons of both Houses, that we should be very much deceived in the Consequences of that Act: And upon some Discourse of the Conveniencies of it, and the contrary (which will admit Reasoning enough) they seem'd to be of the same Opinion. It has appear'd since, that our Conjectures were right: For I think the late Parliament was the first-fruits of that Act; the Proceedings whereof, as well as of the present, have been such, as to make many Persons wish that things were upon the old Foot in that matter. Whether it be that so great a Reformation was too many Degrees beyond so corrupt an Age as this; or that according to the present turn and disposition of Men in our Nation, it were a less abuse to Bribe Elections, than leave them to the discretion of the Chusers. This at least was *Cato's* Opinion, when things in *Rome* were at a Crisis, much resembling ours; who is recorded to have gone about with great Industry, dealing Money among the People to favour *Pompey* (as I remember) upon a certain Election in opposition to *Cæsar*; And he excused himself in it upon the necessities

necessities of the occasion, and the corruptions of the People; an Action that might well have excus'd *Cicero's* censure of him, that he reasoned and acted, *tanquam in Republica Platonis, non in face Romuli*. However it be, 'tis certain that the Talents which qualify a Man for the Service of his Country in Parliament, are very different from those which give him a dexterity at making his court to the People; and do not often meet in the same subject. Then for the moral part, the difference is inconsiderable; and whoever practices upon the Weakness and Vanity of the People, is guilty of an immoral action as much as if he did it upon their Avarice. Besides, the two Trees may be judged by their Fruits. The former produces a set of popular Men, fond of their own Merits and Abilities, their Opinions, and their Eloquence; whereas the bribing of Elections, though a great and shameful Evil, seems to be at present but an ill means of keeping things upon the old foot, by leaving the defence of our Properties, chiefly in the hands of those who will be the greatest sufferers, whenever they are endan-

endangered. It is easie to observe in the late and present Parliament, that several Boroughs and some Counties have been represented by Persons, who little thought to have ever had such hopes before: And how far this may proceed, when such a Way is lay'd open for the Exercise and Encouragement of popular Arts, one may best judge from the Consequences that the same Causes produced both in *Athens* and *Rome*. For, let Speculative Men Reason, or rather Refine as they please; it ever will be true among us, that as long as Men engage in the Publick service upon private Ends, and whilst all Pretences to a Sincere *Roman* Love of our Country, are lookt upon as an Affectation, a Foppery, or a Disguise; (which has been a good while our Case, and is likely to continue so;) it will be safer to trust our Property and Constitution in the hands of such, who have pay'd for their Elections than of those who have obtained them by servile Flatteries of the People.

F I N I S.

THE
SENTIMENTS
OF A

Church of England-Man

With Respect to
RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year, 1708.

WHOEVER has examined the Conduct and Proceedings of both *Parties* for some Years past, whether in or out of Power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far towards the Extreams of either, without offering some Violence to his Integrity or Understanding. A Wise and a good Man

Man may indeed be sometimes induced to comply with a Number whose Opinion he generally approves, tho' it be perhaps against his own. But this Liberty should be made use of upon very few Occasions, and those of small Importance, and then only with a View of bringing over his own Side another Time to something of greater and more Publick Moment. But, to Sacrifice the Innocency of a Friend, the Good of our Country, or our own Conscience to the Humor, or Passion, or Interest of a Party, plainly shews that either our Heads or our Hearts are not as they should be. Yet this very Practice is the Fundamental Law of each Faction among us, as may be obvious to any who will Impartially and without Engagement be at the Pains to examine their Actions, which however is not so easy a Task: For it seems a Principle in Humane Nature, to incline one Way more than another, even in Matters where we are wholly unconcerned. And it is a common Observation, that in reading a History of Facts done a Thousand Years ago,

or standing by at Play among those who are perfect Strangers to us, we are apt to find our Hopes and Wishes engaged on a sudden in favor of one side more than another. No wonder then we are all so ready to interest our selves in the Course of Publick Affairs, where the most inconsiderable have some *real* Share, and by the wonderful Importance which every Man is of to himself, a very great *imaginary* one.

AND indeed, when the two Parties that divide the whole Commonwealth, come once to a Rupture, without any Hopes left of forming a third with better Principles, to Balance the others; it seems every Man's Duty to chuse a Side, tho' he cannot entirely approve of either; And all Pretences to Neutrality are justly Exploded by both, being too Stale and Obvious, only intending the Safety and Ease of a few Individuals while the Publick is Embroiled. This was the Opinion and Practice of the latter *Cato*, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and best of all the *Romans*.

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But before Things proceed to open Violence, the truest Service a private Man may hope to do his Country, is by unbiaſſing his Mind as much as poſſible, and then endeavoring to moderate between the Rival Powers, which muſt needs be owned a fair Proceeding with the World, becauſe it is of all others the leaſt conſiſtent with the common Deſign, of making a Fortune by the *Merit* of an *Opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able in qualifying my ſelf to be ſuch a Moderator. I believe I am no *Bigot* in Religion, and I am ſure I am none in Government. I conſeſs I am in full Freedom with many conſiderable Men of both Parties, and if not in equal Number, it is purely accidental and Personal, as happening to be near the Court, and to have made Acquaintance there, more under one Miniſtry than another. Then, I am not under the Neceſſity of declaring my ſelf by the Proſpect of an Employment. And laſtly, if all this be not ſufficient, I induſtriouſly conceal my Name, which

which wholly exempts me from any Hopes and Fears in delivering my Opinion.

IN consequence of this free Use of my Reason, I cannot possibly think so well or so ill of either Party, as they would endeavour to perswade the World of each other and of themselves. For Instance; I do charge not it upon the Body of the *Whigs* or the *Tories*, that their several Principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of *Rome* or a Commonwealth and Arbitrary Power. For, why should any Party be accused of a Principle which they solemnly disown and protest against. But, to this they have a mutual Answer ready; they both assure us, that their Adversaries are not to be believed, that they disown their Principles out of Fear, which are manifest enough when we examine their Practices. To prove this, they will produce Instances, on one side, either of avowed Presbyterians, or Persons of Libertine and Atheistical Tenets, and on the other, of professed

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Papists,

Papists, or such as are openly in the Interest of the Abdicated Family. Now, it is very natural for all subordinate Sects and Denominations in a State, to Side with some general Party, and to chuse that which they find to agree with themselves in some general Principle. Thus at the *Restoration*, the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and other Sects, did all with very good Reason unite and Sodder up their several Schemes to joyn against the *Church*, who without regard to their Distinctions, treated them all as equal Adversaries. Thus, our present Dissenters do very naturally close in with the Whigs, who profess *Moderation*, declare they abhor all Thoughts of *Persecution*, and think it hard that those who differ only in a few *Ceremonies* and *Speculations*, should be denied the Privilege and Profit of serving their Country in the highest Employments of State. Thus, the Atheists, Libertines, Despisers of Religion and Revelation in general, that is to say, all those who usually pass under the Name of *Free-Thinkers*, do properly joyn with the
same

same Body ; because *They* likewise Preach up Moderation, and are not so overnice to distinguish between an unlimited Liberty of Conscience, and an unlimited Freedom of Opinion. Then on the other side, the Profest Firmness of the *Tories* for Episcopacy as an Apostolick Institution : Their Aversion to those Sects who lye under the Reproach of having once destroyed their Constitution, and who they imagine, by too indiscreet a Zeal for Reformation have defaced the Primitive Model of the Church : Next, their Veneration for Monarchical Government in the common Course of Succession, and their Hatred to Republican Schemes. These I say, are Principles which not only the Non-juring Zealots profess, but even Papists themselves fall readily in with. And every Extream here mentioned flings a general Scandal upon the whole Body it pretends to adhere to.

BUT surely no Man whatsoever ought in Justice or good Manners to be charged with Principles he actually

ally disowns, unless his Practices do openly and without the least Room for doubt contradict his Profession: Not upon small Surmises, or because he has the Misfortune to have Ill Men sometimes agree with him in a few general Sentiments. However, tho' the Extreams of *Whig* and *Tory* seem with little Justice to have drawn Religion into their Controversies, wherein they have small Concern; yet they both have borrowed one leading Principle from the Abuse of it; Which is, to have built their several Systems of Political Faith, not upon Enquiries after Truth, but upon Opposition to each other, upon injurious Appellations, charging their Adversaries with horrid Opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of Charity; *Et neuter falsò.*

Tacit.

IN order to remove these Prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual than to describe the Sentiments of a *Church of England-Man* with respect to *Religion* and *Government*. This I shall endeavour to do in such a manner as may be
liable

liable to least Objection from either Party, and which I am confident would be assented to by great Numbers in both, if they were not misled to those mutual Misrepresentations, by such Motives as they would be ashamed to own.

I shall begin with *Religion*.

AND here, tho' it makes an odd Sound, yet it is necessary to say, that whoever professeth himself a Member of the Church of *England*, ought to believe a God and His Providence, together with Revealed Religion, and the Divinity of *Christ*. For beside those many Thousands, who (to speak in the Phrase of Divines) do practically deny all this by the Immorality of their Lives; there is no small Number, who in their Conversation and Writings directly or by consequence endeavour to overthrow it: Yet all these place themselves in the List of the National Church, tho' at the same time (as it is highly reasonable) they are great Sticklers for Liberty of Conscience.

TO enter upon Particulars; A *Church of England-Man* has a true Veneration for the Scheme established among us of Ecclesiastick Government; and tho' he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right, he is sure it is most agreeable to Primitive Institution, fittest of all others for preserving Order and Parity, and under its present Regulations best calculated for our Civil State: He should therefore think the Abolishment of that Order among us would prove a mighty Scandal and Corruption to our Faith, and manifestly dangerous to our Monarchy; nay he would defend it by Arms against all the Powers on Earth, except our own Legislature; in which Case he would submit as to a general Calamity, a Dearth, or a Pestilence.

AS to Rights and Ceremonies, and Forms of Prayer; he allows there might be some useful Alterations, and more, which in the Prospect of uniting Christians might be very supportable, as Things declared in their
own

own nature indifferent; to which he therefore would readily comply, if the *Clergy*, or, (tho' this be not so fair a Method) if the *Legislature* should direct: Yet at the same time he cannot altogether blame the Former for their unwillingness to consent to any Alteration; which beside the Trouble, and perhaps Disgrace, would certainly never produce the good Effects intended by it. The only condition that could make it prudent and just for the Clergy to comply in altering the Ceremonial or any other indifferent Part, would be, a firm Resolution in the Legislature to interpose by some strict and effectual Laws to prevent the rising and spreading of new Sects how plausible soever, for the future; else there must never be an End; And it would be to act like a Man who should pull down and change the Ornaments of his House, in Compliance to every one that was disposed to find fault as he passed by, which besides the perpetual Trouble and Expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in time destroy the Building. Sects in a
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State seem only tolerated with any Reason because they are already spread; and because it would not be agreeable with so mild a Government, or so pure a Religion as ours, to use violent Methods against great Numbers of *mistaken* People, while they do not manifestly endanger the Constitution of either. But the greatest Advocates for general Liberty of Conscience, will allow they ought to be checkt in their Beginnings, if they will allow them to be any Evil at all, or which is the same thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the Peace of the State, that there should be none. But while the Clergy considers the natural Temper of Mankind in general, or of our own Country in particular, what Assurances can they have, that any Compliances they shall make, will remove the Evil of Dissention, while the Liberty still continues of professing what new Opinions we please? Or how can it be imagined that the Body of Dissenting Teachers, who must be all undone by such a Revolution, will not cast about for some new Objections to with-

withhold their Flocks, and draw in fresh Profelytes by some further Innovations or Refinements ?

UPON these Reasons he is for tolerating such different Forms in Religious Worship as are already admitted, but by no means for leaving it in the Power of those who are tolerated, to advance their own Models upon the Ruin of what is already Established, which it is natural for all Sects to desire, and which they cannot justify by any consistent Principles if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot Succeed in without the utmost Danger to the Publick Peace.

TO prevent these Inconveniences, He thinks it highly just, that all Rewards of Trust, Profit or Dignity, which the State leaves in the Disposal of the Administration, should be given only to those whose Principles direct them to preserve the Constitution in all it's Parts. In the late Affair of *Occasional Conformity*, the general Argument of those who were against it,

it, was not, to deny it an Evil in it self, but that the Remedy proposed was violent, untimely, and improper, which is the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Opinion in the Speech he made and published against the Bill; But, however just their Fears or Complaints might have been upon that Score, he thinks it a little too gross and precipitate to employ their Writers already in Arguments for repealing the Sacramental Test, upon no wiser a Maxim, than that no Man should on the Account of Conscience be deprived the Liberty of Serving his Country, a Topick which may be equally applied to admit *Papists, Atheists, Mahometans, Heathens* and *Jews*. If the Church wants Members of its own to employ in the Service of the Publick; or be so unhappily contrived as to exclude from its Communion such Persons who are likeliest to have great Abilities; it is time it should be altered and reduced into some more perfect, or at least more popular Form: But in the mean while it is not altogether improbable, that when those
who

who dislike the Constitution, are so very zealous in their Offers for the Service of their Country, they are not wholly unmindful of their Party or of themselves.

THE *Dutch* whose Practice is so often quoted to prove and celebrate the great Advantages of a general Liberty of Conscience, have yet a National Religion professed by all who bear office among them; But why should they be a Precedent for us either in Religion or Government? Our Country differs from theirs, as well in Situation, Soil, and Productions of Nature, as in the Genius and Complexion of Inhabitants. They are a Commonwealth founded on a sudden by a desperate Attempt in a desperate Condition, not formed or digested into a regular System by mature Thought and Reason, but huddled up under the Pressure of sudden Exigencies; calculated for no long Duration, and hitherto Subsisting by Accident in the midst of contending Powers, who cannot yet agree about Sharing it amongst them. These Difficulties do
indeed

indeed preserve them from any great Corruptions, which their crazy Constitution would extreamly subject them to in a long Peace. That Confluence of People in a persecuting Age, to a Place of Refuge nearest at hand, put them upon the Necessity of Trade, to which they wisely gave all Ease and Encouragement; And if we could think fit to imitate them in this last Particular, there would need no more to invite Foreigners among us; who seem to think no further than how to secure their Property and Conscience, without projecting any share in that Government which gives them Protection, or calling it *Persecution* if it be denied them. But I speak it for the Honour of our Administration, that although our Sects are not so numerous as those in *Holland*, which I presume is not our *Fault*, and I hope is not our *Misfortune*, we much excel them and all *Christendom* besides in our Indulgence to tender Consciences. One single Compliance with the National Form of receiving the Sacrament, is all we require to qualify any Sectary among us for the greatest Employ.

Employments in the State, after which he is at liberty to rejoyne his own Assemblies for the rest of his Life. Besides, I will suppose any of the numerous Sects in *Holland*, to have so far prevailed as to have raised a Civil War, destroyed their Government and Religion, and put their *Administrators* to Death; After which I will suppose the People to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old Foundation. Then I would put a Query, whether that Sect which was the unhappy Instrument of all this Confusion, could reasonably expect to be entrusted for the future with the greatest Employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them.

TO go on with the Sentiments of a *Church of England-Man*: He does not see how that mighty Passion for the Church which some Men pretend, can well consist with those Indignities and that Contempt they bestow on the Persons of the Clergy. Tis a strange Mark, whereby to distinguish *High Churchmen*, that they are such who imagine the Clergy can never be
too

too *Low*. He thinks the Maxim these Gentlemen are so fond of, that they are for an Humble Clergy, is a very good one; And so is he, and for an Humble Laity too, since Humility is a Virtue that perhaps equally benefits and adorns every Station of Life.

BUT then if the Scribblers on the other Side freely speak the Sentiments of their Party, a Divine of the Church of *England* cannot look for much better Quarter from thence. You shall observe nothing more frequent in their Weekly Papers than a way of affecting to confound the Terms of *Clergy* and *High-Church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the Calumny they can invent. They will tell you they Honour a Clergy-man; but talk at the same time as if there were not three in the Kingdom who could fall in with their Definition. After the like Manner they insult the *Universities*, as Poisoned Fountains, and Corrupters of Youth.

NOW

NOW, it seems clear to me that the *Whigs* might easily have procured and maintained a Majority among the Clergy, and perhaps in the Universities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this Intemperance of Speech, and Virulence of Pen, in the worst and most prostitute of their Party; among whom there hath been for some Years past such a perpetual Clamor against the Ambition, the Implacable Temper, and the Covetousness of the *Priesthood*: Such a Cant of *High-Church*, and *Persecution*, and being *Priest-ridden*; so many Reproaches about *Narrow Principles*, or *Terms of Communion*: Then such Scandalous Reflections on the Universities, for infecting the Youth of the Nation with Arbitrary and *Jacobite* Principles, that it was natural for those who had the Care of Religion and Education, to apprehend some general Design of altering the Constitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, because it could not easily be forgot, that whatever Opposition was made to the Usurpations of
I King

King James, proceeded altogether from the Church of *England*, and chiefly from the *Clergy* and one of the Universities. For, if it were of any use to recall Matters of Fact, what is more notorious than that Prince's applying himself first to the Church of *England*, and upon their Refusal to fall in with his Measures, making the like Advances to the *Dissenters* of all Kinds, who readily and almost universally complied with Him, affecting in their numerous Addresses and Pamphlets, the Style of *Our Brethren the Roman-Catholicks*, whose Interests they put on the same Foot with their own: And some of *Cromwell's* Officers took Posts in the Army raised against the Prince of *Orange*. These Proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the Provocations they had met from the Church in King *Charles's* Reign, which tho' perhaps excusable upon the score of Human Infirmary, are not by any means a Plea of Merit equal to the Constancy and Sufferings of the Bishops and Clergy, or of the Head and Fellows of *Magdalen* College, that furnished the

the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration with such powerful Arguments to justify and promote the Revolution.

THEREFORE a *Church of England* Man abhors the Humor of the Age in delighting to fling Scandals upon the Clergy in general; which besides the Disgrace to the Reformation, and to Religion it self, casts an Ignominy upon the Kingdom that it doth not deserve. We have no better Materials to compound the Priesthood of, than the Mass of Mankind, which corrupted as it is, those who receive Orders must have some Vices to leave behind them when they enter into the Church, and if a few do still adhere, it is no Wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worse. Therefore he cannot think *Ambition* or *Love of Power* more justly laid to their Charge than to other Men, because, that would be to make Religion it self, or at least the best Constitution of Church Government, answerable for the Errors and Depravity of Human Nature.

WITHIN these last Two Hundred Years all sorts of Temporal Power hath been wrested from the Clergy, and much of their Ecclesiastick, the Reason or Justice of which Proceeding I shall not examine ; but, that the Remedies were a little too violent with respect to their *Possessions*, the Legislature hath lately confessed by the Remission of their *First-Fruits*. Neither do the common Libellers deny this, who in their Invectives only tax the Church with an unsatiable Desire of Power and Wealth (equally common to all Bodies of Men as well as Individuals) but thank God, that the Laws have deprived them of both. However it is worth observing the Justice of Parties ; The Sects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard Usage to be reproached now after Fifty Years for overturning the State, for the Murder of a King, and the Indignity of a Usurpation ; yet these very Men and their Partisans are continually reproaching the Clergy, and laying to their Charge the Pride, the Avarice, the Luxury, the Ignorance,

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for a Thousand Years past.

H E thinks it a Scandal to Government that such an unlimited Liberty should be allowed of publishing Books against those Doctrines in Religion, wherein all Christians have agreed, much more to connive at such Tracts as reject all Revelation, and by their Consequences often deny the very Being of a God. Surely 'tis not a sufficient Atonement for the Writers, that they profess much Loyalty to the present Government, and sprinkle up and down some Arguments in favour of the *Dissenters*; that they dispute as strenuously as they can for Liberty of Conscience, and inveigh largely against all Ecclesiasticks under the Name of *High-Church*; And in short under the shelter of some popular Principles in Politicks and Religion, undermine the Foundations of all Piety and Virtue.

A S he does not reckon every *Schism* of that damnable Nature which some would represent; so he is very

I 3 far

far from closing with the new Opinion of those who would make it no Crime at all, and argue at a wild rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the Variety of Faith and Worship, as He is with the Varieties of Nature. To such Absurdities are Men carried by the Affectation of *free Thinking*, and removing the *Prejudices of Education*, under which Head they have for some time begun to List *Morality and Religion*. It is certain that before the *Rebellion* in 1642, tho' the Number of *Puritans* (as they were then called) were as great as it is with us, and though they affected to follow Pastors of that Denomination, yet those Pastors had Episcopal Ordination, possessed Preferments in the Church, and were sometimes promoted to Bishopricks themselves. But, a Breach in the general Form of Worship was in those days reckoned so dangerous and sinful in it self, and so offensive to *Roman-Catholicks* at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted; Neither, I believe, was the Expedient then found out of maintaining separate Pastors out of private Purses.

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WHEN a *Schism* is once spread in a Nation, there grows at length a Dispute which are the Schismaticks. without entring on the Arguments, used by both sides among us, to fix the Guilt on each other; 'tis certain, that in the sense of the Law, the *Schism* lies on that side which opposes it self to the Religion of the State. I shall leave it among the *Divines* to dilate upon the Danger of *Schism* as a Spiritual Evil, but I would consider it only as a Temporal one. And I think it clear that any great separation from the Established Worship, tho' to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occasion of endangering the Publick Peace, because it will compose a Body always in reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads upon the plausible Pretexts of advancing *true Religion*, and opposing Error, Superstition, or Idolatry. For this Reason *Plato* lays it down as a Maxim, that, *Men ought to Worship the Gods according to the Laws of the Country*, and he introduces *Socrates* in his last Discourse utterly

Lord Clarendon's
History.

disowning the Crime laid to his Charge, of teaching new Divinities or Methods of Worship. Thus the poor *Huguenots* of France were engaged in a Civil War, by the specious Pretences of some, who under the Guise of Religion Sacrificed so many Thousand Lives to their own Ambition and Revenge. Thus was the whole Body of *Puritans* in England drawn to be Instrumental, or Abettors of all manner of Villany, by the Artifices of a few Men whose *Designs from the first were levelled to destroy the Constitution both of Religion and Government. And thus even in *Holland* it self, where it is pretended that the Variety of Sects live so Amicably together, and in such perfect Obedience to the Magistrate, 'tis notorious how a turbulent Party joyning with the *Arminians*, did in the memory of our Fathers attempt to destroy the Liberty of that Republick. So that upon the whole, where Sects are tolerated in a State, 'tis fit they should enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience, and every other Privilege of Free-born Subjects to which no Power is annexed. And to preserve their Obedi-

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Obedience upon all Emergencies, a Government cannot give them too much Ease, nor trust them with too little Power.

THE *Clergy* are usually charged with a *Persecuting Spirit*, which they are said to discover by an implacable hatred to all *Dissenters*, and this appears to be more unreasonable, because they suffer less in their Interests by a *Toleration* than any of the *Conforming Laity*: For while the *Church* remains in its present Form, no Dissenter can possibly have any share in its Dignities, Revenues or Power; whereas, by once receiving the Sacrament, he is render'd capable of the Highest Employments in the State. And it is very possible, that a narrow Education, together with a mixture of Human Infirmary, may help to beget among some of the *Clergy in Possession* such an Aversion and Contempt for all *Innovators*, as *Physicians* are apt to have for *Empiricks*, or *Lawyers* for *Pettifoggers*, or *Merchants* for *Pedlars*; But since the Number of *Sectaries* does not concern the *Clergy* either in point
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of Interest or Conscience, (it being an Evil not in their Power to remedy) 'tis more fair and reasonable to suppose their Dislike proceeds from the Dangers they apprehend to the Peace of the Commonwealth, in the Ruin whereof they must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers.

TO conclude this Section, it must be observed, there is a very good Word, which hath of late suffered much by both Parties, and that is, *Moderation*, which the one side very justly disowns, and the other as unjustly pretends to. Beside what passes every Day in Conversation; any Man who reads the Papers published by Mr. L—y and others of his Stamp, must needs conclude, that if this Author could make the Nation see his Adversaries under the Colours he Paints them in, we had nothing else to do, but rise as one Man and destroy such Wretches from the Face of the Earth. On the other side, how shall we excuse the Advocates for *Moderation*; among whom I could appeal to a Hundred Papers of universal Approba-

probation by the Cause they were writ for, which lay such Principles to the whole Body of the *Tories*, as, if they were true, and believed; our next Business should in Prudence be to erect Gibbets in every Parish, and Hang them out of the Way. But I suppose it is presumed, the Common People understand *Raillery*, or at least, *Rhetorick*, and will not take *Hyperbole's* in too literal a Sense; which however in some Junctures might prove a desperate Experiment. And this is *Moderation* in the *Modern* Sense of the Word, to which, speaking impartially, the Bigots of both Parties are equally entitled.

SECT.

S E C T. 2.

*The Sentiments of a Church
of England Man with
respect to Government.*

WE look upon it as a very just Reproach, tho' we cannot agree where to fix it, that there should be so much Violence and Hatred in Religious Matters, among Men who agree in all Fundamentals, and only differ in some Ceremonies, or at most meer Speculative Points. Yet is not this frequently the Case between contending Parties in a State? For instance; Do not the generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us, profess to agree in the same *Fundamentals*, their Loyalty to the Queen, their Abjuration of the *Pretender*, the Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and a Revolution Principle;

ciple; their Affection to the Church established, with Toleration of Dissenters. Nay sometimes they go further, and pass over into each others Principles; the *Whigs* become great Asserters of the Prerogative, and the *Tory's*, of the Peoples Liberty; these crying down almost the whole set of Bishops, and those defending them; So that the Differences fairly Stated, would be much of a sort with those of Religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who should take Place, or go in and out first, or Kiss the Queen's Hand*; and what are these but a few *Court Ceremonies*? Or, *who should be in the Ministry*; and what is that to the Body of the Nation but a meer *Speculative Point*. Yet I think it must be allowed, that no Religious Sect ever carried their Aversions for each other to greater Heights than our State Parties have done, who the more to inflame their Passions have mixed Religious and Civil Animosities together; borrowing one of their Appellations from the Church, with the Addition of *High* and *Low*, how little soever their Disputes relate to
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the Term as it is generally understood.

I now proceed to deliver the Sentiments of a *Church of England* Man with respect to Government.

HE does not think the Church of *England* so narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular Species of Government; nor does he think any one regular Species of Government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *Schools* have all of them their several Perfections, and are subject to their several Depravations. However, few States are Ruined by any Defect in their Institution, but generally by the Corruption of Manners, against which the best Institution is no long Security, and without which a very ill one may subsist and flourish: Whereof there are two pregnant Instances now in *Europe*. The first is the *Aristocracy* of *Venice*, which founded upon the wisest Maxims, and digested by a great Length of Time, hath in our Age admitted
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so many Abuses through the Degeneracy of the Nobles, that the Period of its Duration seems to approach. The other is the United Republicks of the *States-General*, where a Vein of Temperance, Industry, Parcimony, and a Publick Spirit, running through the whole Body of the People, hath preserved an Infant Commonwealth of an untimely Birth and Sickly Constitution, for above an Hundred Years, through so many Dangers and Difficulties, as a much more Healthy one could never have struggled against without those Advantages.

WHERE security of Person and Property are preserved by Laws which none but the *Whole* can repeal, there the great Ends of Government are provided for, whether the Administration be in the Hands of *One* or of *Many*. Where any one *Person* or *Body* of Men, who do not represent the *Whole*, seize into their Hands the Power in the last Resort, there is properly no longer a Government, but what *Aristotle* and his Followers call the *Abuse* and *Corruption* of one.
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This Distinction excludes Arbitrary Power in whatever Numbers; which notwithstanding all that *Hobbs*, *Filmer* and others have said to its Advantage, I look upon as a greater Evil than *Anarchy* it self; as much as a *Savage* is a happier State of Life than a *Slave* at the Oar.

IT is reckoned ill Manners as well as Unreasonable, for Men to quarrel upon difference in Opinion; because that is usually supposed to be a Thing which no Man can help in himself; which however I do not conceive to be an universal infallible Maxim, except in those Cases where the Question is pretty equally disputed among the Learned and the Wise; Where it is otherwise, a Man of tolerable Reason, small Experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong Opinion, though the whole Course of his Mind and Inclination would perswade him to believe it true; He may be convinced that he is in an Error though he does not see where it lies, by the bad Effects of it in the common Conduct of his Life,

Life, and by observing those Persons for whose Wisdom and Goodness he has the greatest Deference to be of a contrary Sentiment. According to *Hobbs's Comparison of Reasoning with casting up Accounts*, whoever finds a Mistake in the *Sum total*, must allow himself out, though after repeated Tryals he may not see in which Article he has misreckoned. I will instance in one Opinion, which I look upon every Man obliged in Conscience to quit, or in Prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in defence of absolute Power in a single Person, tho' he offers the old plausible Plea, that, *it is his Opinion, which he cannot help unless he be convinced*, ought in all free States to be treated as the common Enemy of Mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy Charge upon the *Clergy* of the two Reigns before the *Revolution*, who under the Terms of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* are said to have preacht up the Unlimited Power of the Prince, because they found it a Doctrine that pleased the Court, and made way for their Preferment. And I believe there may be Truth
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enough in this Accusation, to convince us, that Human Frailty will too often interpose it self among Persons of the Holiest Function. However, it may be offered in excuse for the Clergy, that in the best Societies there are some ill Members, which a corrupted Court and Ministry will industriously find out and introduce. Besides, it is manifest that the greater Number of those who held and preached this Doctrine, were misguided by equivocal Terms, and by perfect Ignorance in the Principles of Government, which they had not made any part of their Study. The Question originally put, and as I remember to have heard it disputed in Publick Schools, was this; *Whether under any Pretence whatsoever, it may be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate;* which was held in the Negative; and this is certainly the right Opinion. But many of the Clergy and other Learned, deceived by a dubious Expression, mistook the *Object* to which *Passive Obedience* was due. By the *Supreme Magistrate* is properly understood the Legislative Power, which in all Government must be absolute and

and unlimited. But the Word *Magistrate* seeming to denote a *single Person*, and to express the *Executive Power*, it came to pass, that the Obedience due to the *Legislature* was for want of knowing or considering this easy Distinction, misapplied to the *Administration*. Neither is it any Wonder, that the Clergy or other well meaning People should fall into this Error, which deceived *Hobbes* himself so far as to be the Foundation of all the Political Mistakes in his Book, where he perpetually confounds the *Executive* with the *Legislative Power*, though all well instituted States have ever placed them in different Hands, as may be obvious to those who know any thing of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and other Republicks of *Greece*, as well as the greater ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*.

BESIDES, it is to be considered that when these Doctrines began to be Preached among us, the Kingdom had not quite worn out the Memory of that unhappy *Rebellion*, under the Consequences of which it had groaned

almost Twenty Years. And a *weak Prince* in conjunction with a Succession of most prostitute Ministers, began again to dispose the People to new Attempts, which it was, no doubt, the Clergy's Duty to endeavour to prevent, if some of them had not for want of Knowledge in temporal Affairs, and others perhaps from a worse Principle, proceeded upon a Topick that strictly followed would enslave all Mankind.

AMONG other Theological Arguments made use of in those Times, in praise of Monarchy, and Justification of absolute Obedience to a Prince, there seemed to be one of a singular Nature; It was urged that *Heaven* was governed by a *Monarch*, who had none to control his Power, but was absolutely obeyed: Then it followed, that Earthly Governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated that in Heaven. All which I look upon as the strongest Argument against *Despotick* Power that ever was offered; Since no reason can possibly be assigned why it is best for the World that
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God Almighty hath such a Power, which doth not directly prove that no Mortal Man should ever have the like.

BUT though a *Church of England* Man thinks every Species of Government equally *lawful*, he does not think them equally *expedient*; or for every Country indifferently. There may be something in the Climat, naturally disposing Men towards one sort of Obedience, as it is manifest all over *Asia*, where we never read of any Commonwealth, except some small ones on the Western Coasts established by the *Greeks*. There may be a great deal in the Situation of a Country, and in the present *Genius* of the People. It hath been observed, that the temperate Climats usually run into moderate Governments, and the Extrems into Despotick Power. 'Tis a Remark of *Hobbes*, that the Youth of *England* are corrupted in their Principles of Government, by reading the Authors of *Greece* and *Rome* who writ under Commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the Ho-

nor of Liberty, that while the rest of the known World was overrun with the Arbitrary Government of single Persons; *Arts and Sciences* took their Rise, and flourished only in those few small Territories where the People were *free*. And though *Learning* may continue after *Liberty* is lost, as it did in *Rome*, for a while, upon the Foundations laid under the Commonwealth, and the particular Patronage of some Emperors; Yet it hardly ever began under a *Tyranny* in any Nation. Because *Slavery* is of all Things the greatest Clog and Obstacle to *Speculation*. And indeed, Arbitrary Power is but the first natural step from *Anarchy* or the *Savage Life*; the adjusting *Power* and *Freedom* being an Effect and Consequence of maturer Thinking: And this is no where so duly regulated as in a limited Monarchy: Because I believe it may pass for a Maxim in State, that *the Administration cannot be placed in too few Hands*, nor the *Legislature* in too many. Now in this material Point, the Constitution of the *English* Government far exceeds all others at this time

time on the Earth, to which the present Establishment of the *Church* doth so happily agree, that I think, whoever is an Enemy to *either* must of necessity be so to *both*.

HE thinks, as our Monarchy is constituted, a Hereditary Right is much to be preferred before *Election*. Because the Government here, especially by some late Amendments, is so regularly disposed in all it's Parts, that it almost *executes* it self. And therefore upon the Death of a Prince among Us, the Administration goes on without any Rub or Interruption. For the same Reasons we have little to apprehend from the *Weakness* or *Fury* of our Monarchs, who have such Wise Councils to guide the first, and Laws to restrain the other. And therefore this Hereditary Right should be kept so Sacred, as never to break the Succession, unless where the preserving it may endanger the Constitution; Which is not from any intrinsic Merit, or unalienable Right in a *particular Family*, but to avoid the Consequences that usually attend the

Ambition of Competitors, to which Elective Kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only Obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest Perfection that Government can possibly reach. Hence appears the Absurdity of that Distinction between a King *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with respect to Us. For every *limited* Monarch is a King *de jure*, because he Governs by the Consent of the *whole*, which is Authority sufficient to abolish all precedent Right. If a King come in by *Conquest*, he is no longer a *limited* Monarch, if he afterwards consents to Limitations, he becomes immediately King *de jure* for the same Reason.

THE great Advocates for *Succession*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any Regard or Consideration whatsoever, do insist much upon one Argument that seems to carry little Weight. They would have it, that a *Crown* is a Prince's Birth-right, and ought at least to be as well secured to him and his Posterity as the Inheritance of any private Man; in
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thort that he has the same Title to his Kingdom which every Individual has to his Property: Now the Consequence of this Doctrine must be, that as a Man may find several ways to waste, mispend, or abuse his Patrimony, without being answerable to the Laws; so a King may in like manner do what he will with *his own*, that is, he may squander and misapply his Revenues, and even alienate the Crown, without being called to an Account by his Subjects. They allow such a Prince to be guilty indeed of much Folly and Wickedness, but for those he is to *answer to God*, as every private Man must do that is guilty of Mismanagement in his own Concerns. Now the Folly of this Reasoning will best appear, by applying it in a parallel Case. Should any Man argue, that a Physician is supposed to understand his own Art best; that the Law protects and encourages his Profession; And therefore although he should manifestly prescribe *Poison* to all his Patients, whereof they should immediately dye, he cannot be justly punished, but is answerable only to God.

Or

Or should the same be offered in behalf of a Divine, who would preach against Religion and Moral Duties; In either of these two Cases every body would find out the Sophistry; And presently answer, that although common Men are not exactly skilled in the Composition or Application of Medicines, or in prescribing the Limits of Duty; yet the Difference between *Poisons* and *Remedies* is easily known by their Effects, and common Reason soon distinguishes between *Virtue* and *Vice*; And it must be necessary to forbid both these the further Practice of their Professions, because their Crimes are not purely Personal to the Physitian or the Divine, but destructive to the Publick. All which is infinitely stronger in respect to a Prince, with whose good or ill Conduct the Happiness or Misery of a whole Nation is included; whereas it is of small Consequence to the Publick, farther than Examples, how any private Person manages his Property.

BUT

BUT granting that the Right of a Lineal Successor to a Crown were upon the same Foot with the Property of a Subject, still it may at any time be transferred by the Legislative Power, as other Properties frequently are. The Supreme Power in a State can *do no wrong*, because whatever that doth is the Action of all; And when the *Lawyers* apply this Maxim to the *King*, they must understand it only in that Sense as he is Administrator of the Supreme Power, otherwise it is not universally true, but may be controlled in several Instances easy to produce.

AND these are the Topicks we must proceed upon to justify our Exclusion of the young *Pretender* in *France*; that of his suspected Birth being meerly Popular, and therefore not made use of as I remember, since the Revolution in any Speech, Vote or Proclamation where there was Occasion to mention him.

AS

AS to the *Abdication* of King *James*, which the Advocates on that side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in it self, I think a Man may observe every Article of the *English* Church, without being in much Pain about it. 'Tis not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for his Departure, and perhaps not without the Privy of the Prince of *Orange*, as reasonably concluding that the Kingdom might better be settled in his Absence; But to affirm he had any Cause to apprehend the same Treatment with his *Father*, is an improbable Scandal flung upon the Nation by a few bigotted *French* Scribblers, or the invidious Assertion of a ruined Party at home, in the Bitterness of their Souls. Not one material Circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest Part of the Nation having preserved the utmost Horror for that ignominious *Murder*, but whether his Removal were caused by his own *Fears* or other *Mens Artifices*, 'tis manifest to me, that supposing the Throne to be Vacant, which was the Foot they went upon,
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the Body of the People was thereupon left at liberty, to chuse what Form of Government they pleased, by themselves or their Representatives.

THE only Difficulty of any Weight against the Proceedings at the Revolution, is an obvious Objection, to which the Writers upon that Subject have not yet given a direct or sufficient Answer, as if they were in Pain at some Consequences which they apprehended those of the contrary Opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this Objection as it was offered me some time ago, with all its Advantages, by a very Pious, Learned, and Worthy Gentleman of the Nonjuring Party.

THE Force of his Argument turned upon this; That the Laws made by the Supreme Power, cannot otherwise than by the Supreme Power be annulled: That this consisting in *England* of a King, Lords and Commons, whereof each have a Negative Voice, no two of them can repeal or enact a Law without consent of the third;
much

much less may any one of them be entirely excluded from it's Part of the Legislature by a *Vote* of the other two. That all these Maxims were openly violated at the Revolution; where an Assembly of the *Nobles* and *People* not Summoned by the King's Writ (which was then an essential Part of the Constitution) and consequently no lawful meeting, did meerly upon their own Authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the Throne vacant, and gave the Crown by a Vote to a *Nephew*, when there were three Children to Inherit, though by the fundamental Laws of the Realm the next Heir is immediately to Succeed. Neither does it appear how a Prince's *Abdication* can make any other sort of Vacancy in the Throne, than would be caused by his Death, since he cannot abdicate for His Children (who claim their Right of Succession by Act of Parliament) otherwise than by his own Consent in form to a Bill from the two Houses,

AND

AND this is the Difficulty that seems chiefly to stick with the most reasonable of those, who from a meer Scruple of Conscience refuse to joyn with us upon the Revolution Principle; but for the rest, are I believe as far from loving Arbitrary Government, as any others can be, who are born under a free Constitution, and are allowed to have the least share of common good Sense.

IN this Objection there are two Questions included; First, whether upon the foot of our Constitution as it stood in the Reign of the late King *James*; a King of *England* may be deposed? The Second is, whether the People of *England* convened by their own Authority, after the King had withdrawn himself in the manner He did, had Power to alter the Succession?

AS for the First; It is a Point I shall not presume to determine, and shall therefore only say, that to any Man who holds the Negative, I would demand

demand the Liberty of putting the Case as strongly as I please. I will suppose a Prince limited by Laws like ours, yet running into a thousand Caprices of Cruelty like *Nero* or *Caligula*. I will suppose him to Murder his Mother and his Wife, to commit Incest, to Ravish Matrons, to blow up the Senate, and Burn his Metropolis, Openly to renounce God and Christ, and Worship the Devil. These and the like Exorbitancies are in the power of a Single Person to commit without the Advice of a Ministry, or Assistance of an Army. And if such a King as I have described, cannot be Deposed but by his own Consent in Parliament; I do not well see how he can be *resisted*, or what can be meant by a *limited* Monarchy; Or what signifies the Peoples consent in making and repealing Laws, if the Person who administers hath no Tye but Conscience, and is answerable to none but God. I desire no stronger Proof that an Opinion must be false, than to find very great Absurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the present Case; For it is not a bare

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self Nations, and who seem to have had the truest Notions of Freedom, that when a Prince was laid aside for Male-administration, the Nobles and People, if they thought it necessary for the Publick Weal, did resume the Administration of the Supreme Power (the Power it self having been always in them) and did not only alter the Succession, but often the very Form of Government too. Because they believed there was no natural Right in one Man to Govern another, but that all was by Institution, Force or Consent. Thus, the Cities of Greece, when they drove out their Tyrannical Kings, either chose others from a new Family, or abolished the Kingly Government, and became Free States. Thus the Romans upon the Expulsion of Tarquin found it was inconvenient for them to be subject any longer to the Pride, the Lust, the Cruelty and Arbitrary Will of single Persons, and therefore by general Consent entirely altered the whole Frame of their Government. Nor do I find the Proceedings of either, in this Point, to have been condemned

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ned by any Historian of the succeeding Ages.

B U T a great deal hath been already said by other Writers upon this invidious and beaten Subject ; therefore I shall let it fall, tho' the Point is commonly mistaken, especially by the *Lawyers* ; who of all others seem least to understand the Nature of Government in general ; like under-workmen, who are expert enough at making a single Wheel in a Clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjust the several Parts, or regulate the Movement.

T O return therefore from this Digression ; It is a *Church of England* Man's opinion, that the Freedom of a Nation consists in an absolute *Unlimited Legislative* Power, wherein the whole Body of the People are fairly represented, and in an *Executive* Duly *limited* ; because on this side likewise there may be dangerous Degrees, and a very ill Extream. For when two Parties in a State are pretty equal in *Power*, *Pretensions*,
L 2 *Merit*,

Merit, and Virtue; (For these two last are with relation to Parties and a Court quite different Things) it hath been the Opinion of the best Writers upon Government, that a Prince ought no in any sort to be under the Guidance or Influence of either, because he declines by this means from his Office of presiding over the *whole*, to be the Head of a *Party*; which besides the Indignity, renders him answerable for all Publick Mismanagements and the Consequences of them; And in whatever State this happens, there must either be a Weakness in the Prince or Ministry, or else the former is too much restrained by the Legislature.

TO conclude; A *Church of England* Man may with Prudence and a good Conscience approve the professed Principles of one Party more than the other, according as he thinks they best promote the Good of Church and State; but he will never be sway'd by Passion or Interest to advance an Opinion meerly because it is *That* of the Party he most approves; which
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one single Principle he looks upon as the Root of all our Civil Animosities. To enter into a Party as into an Order of *Fryers* with so resigned an Obedience to Superiors, is very unsuitable both with the Civil and Religious Liberties we so Zealously assert. Thus the Understandings of a whole Senate are often enslaved by three or four Leaders on each Side, who instead of intending the Publick-Weal, have their Hearts wholly set upon Ways and Means how to get or to keep Employments. But to speak more at large, how has this Spirit of Faction mingled it self in with the Mass of the People, changed their Natures and Manners, and the very Genius of the Nation; broke all the Laws of Charity, Neighbourhood, Alliance and Hospitality, destroy'd all Ties of Friendship, and divided Families against themselves. And no wonder it should be so, when in order to find out the Character of a Person, instead of enquiring whether he be a Man of Virtue, Honour, Piety, Wit, good Sense, or Learning; the modern Question is only whether he

be a *Whig* or a *Tory*, under which Terms all good and ill Qualities are included.

NOW, because it is a Point of Difficulty to chuse an exact Middle between two ill Extreams, it may be worth enquiring in the present Case, which of these, a wise and a good Man would rather seem to avoid: Taking therefore their own good and ill Characters with due abatements and allowances for Partiality and Passion; I should think that in order to preserve the Constitution entire in Church and State, whoever has a true Value for both, would be sure to avoid the Extreams of *Whig* for the sake of the former, and the Extreams of *Tory* on account of the latter.

I have now said all I could think convenient upon so nice a Subject, and find I have the Ambition common with other Reasoners, to wish at least that both Parties may think me *in the right*, which would be of some use to those who have any Virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the
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Extravagances of either, upon false Representations, to serve the Ambition or Malice of designing Men without any Prospect of their own. But if that is not to be hoped for, my next Wish should be that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would understand as an ample Justification of my self, and a sure Ground to believe that I have proceeded at least with Impartiality, and perhaps with truth.

Written in the Year 1708

F I N I S.

A N
ARGUMENT

To prove that the

Abolishing of **CHRISTIANITY**

I N

ENGLAND,

May as things now stand, be attended
 with some Inconveniencies, and per-
 haps not produce those many good
 Effects proposed thereby.

Written in the Year, 1708.

I AM very sensible what a Weak-
 ness and Presumption it is, to rea-
 son against the general Humor
 and Disposition of the World. I re-
 member it was with great Justice, and
 a due regard to the Freedom both
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of the Publick and the Press, forbidden upon several Penalties to Write, or Discourse, or lay Wagers against the ——— even before it was confirmed by Parliament, because that was look'd upon as a Design, to oppose the Current of the People, which besides the Folly of it, is a manifest Breach of the Fundamental Law that makes this Majority of Opinion the Voice of God. In like manner, and for the very same Reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the abolishing of Christianity: at a Juncture when all Parties seem unanimously determined upon the Point, as we cannot but allow from their Actions, their Discourses, and their Writings. However, I know not how, whether from the Affectation of Singularity, or the Perverseness of Human Nature, but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this Opinion. Nay though I were sure, an Order were issued out for my immediate Prosecution by the Attorney General, I should still confess that in the present Posture of our Affairs at home or abroad, I
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do not yet see the absolute Necessity of extirpating the Christian Religion from among us.

THIS perhaps may appear too great a Paradox even for our wise and paradoxical Age to endure ; therefore I shall handle it with all Tenderness, and with the utmost Deference to that great and profound Majority which is of another Sentiment.

AND yet the Curious may please to observe, how much the Genius of a Nation is liable to alter in half an Age. I have heard it affirmed for certain by some very old People, that the contrary Opinion was even in their Memories as much in Vogue as the other is now ; And, that a Project for the abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this time to write or discourse in it's Defence.

THEREFORE I freely own that all Appearances are against me. The System of the Gospel after the
Fate

Fate of other Systems is generally antiquated and exploded; and the Mass or Body of the common People, among whom it seems to have had it's latest Credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their Betters. Opinions like Fashions always descending from those of Quality to the middle sort, and thence to the Vulgar, where at length they are dropt and vanish.

BUT here I would not be mistaken, and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a Distinction from the Writers on the other side, when they make a Difference betwixt Nominal and Real *Trinitarians*. I hope no Reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the Defence of Real Christianity, such as used in Primitive Times (if we may believe the Authors of those Ages) to have an Influence upon Mens Belief and Actions: To offer at the restoring of That would indeed be a wild Project; It would be to dig up Foundations, to destroy at one Blow all the Wit, and half the Learning of the Kingdom; to break the entire

tire Frame and Constitution of Things, to ruin Trade, extinguish Arts and Sciences with the Professors of them; In short, to turn our Courts, Exchanges, and shops into Deserts; and would be full as absurd as the Proposal of *Horace*, where he advises the *Romans* all in a Body to leave their City, and seek a new Seat in some remote Part of the World, by way of a Cure for the Corruption of their Manners.

THEREFORE I think this Caution was in it self altogether unnecessary (which I have inserted only to prevent all Possibility of Caviling) since every candid Reader will easily understand my Discourse to be intended only in Defence of Nominal Christianity, the other having been for some time wholly laid aside by general Consent, as utterly inconsistent with all our present Schemes of Wealth and Power.

BUT why we should therefore cast off the Name and Title of Christians, although the general Opinion and

and Resolution be so violent for it, I confess I cannot (with submission) apprehend the Consequence necessary. However, since the Undertakers propose such wonderful Advantages to the Nation by this Project, and advance many plausible Objections against the Systems of Christianity, I shall briefly consider the Strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest Weight, and offer such Answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew what Inconveniencies may possibly happen by such an Innovation, in the present Posture of our Affairs.

First, ONE great Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity is, That it would very much enlarge and establish Liberty of Conscience, that great Bulwark of our Nation, and of the Protestant Religion, which is still too much limited by Priest-craft, notwithstanding all the good Intentions of the Legislature, as we have lately found by a severe Instance. For it is confidently reported, that two Young Gentlemen of real
Hopes,

Hopes, bright Wit, and profound Judgment, who upon a thorough Examination of Causes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the least Tincture of Learning, having made a Discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicating their Thoughts for the good of the Publick; were some time ago by an unparalleled Severity, and upon I know not what obsolete Law, broke for Blasphemy. And as it hath been wisely observed, if Persecution once begins no Man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

IN answer to all which, with deference to wiser Judgments, I think this rather shews the Necessity of a Nominal Religion among us. Great Wits love to be free with the highest Objects, and if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce; they will speak Evil of Dignities, abuse the Government, and reflect upon the Ministry, which I am sure few will deny to be of much more pernicious Consequence, according to the saying
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of *Tiberius*, *Deorum Offensa Diis curæ.*

As to the particular Fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one Instance, perhaps another cannot be produced, yet (to the Comfort of all those who may be apprehensive of Persecution) Blasphemy we know is freely spoke a Million of times in every Coffee-House and Tavern, or wherever else good Company meet. It must be allowed indeed that to Break an *English* Free-born Officer only for Blasphemy, was, to speak the gentlest of such an Action, a very high strain of absolute Power. Little can be said in Excuse for the General; Perhaps he was afraid it might give Offence to the Allies, among whom, for ought we know, it may be the Custom of the Country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken Principle, that an Officer who is guilty of speaking Blasphemy, may sometime or other proceed so far as to raise a Mutiny, the Consequence is by no means to be admitted; For, surely, the Commander of an *English* Army is like to be but ill obey'd, whose Soldiers fear
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and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

IT is further objected against the Gospel System, that it obliges Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for free Thinkers, and such who have shook off the Prejudices that usually cling to a confin'd Education. To which I answer, that Men should be cautious how they raise Objections which reflect upon the Wisdom of the Nation. Is not every body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleases, and to publish his Belief to the World whenever he thinks fit, especially if it serves to strengthen the Party which is in the Right. Would any indifferent Foreigner, who should read the Trumpery lately written by *Asgil, Tindall, Toland, Coward*, and Forty more, imagine the Gospel to be our Rule of Faith, and to be confirmed by Parliaments. Does any Man either Believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he Believes one Syllable of the Matter, and is any Man worse received upon that Score, or does he find his want of

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Nominal Faith a disadvantage to him in the Pursuit of any Civil or Military Employment? What if there be an old dormant Statute or two against him, are they not now obsolete, to a degree, that *Empson* and *Dudley* themselves if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in Execution.

IT is likewise urged, that there are by Computation in this Kingdom above Ten Thousand Parsons, whose Revenues added to those of my Lords the Bishops, would suffice to maintain at least Two Hundred Young Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure, and Free-thinking Enemies to Priest-Craft, narrow Principles, Pedantry, and Prejudices, who might be an Ornament to the Court and Town: And then, again, so great a Number of able [bodied] Divines might be a Recruit to our Fleet and Armies. This indeed appears to be a Consideration of some Weight: But then on the other side, several Things deserve to be considered likewise: As, First, Whether it may not be thought necessary

cessary that in certain Tracts of Country, like what we call Parishes, there should be one Man at least, of Abilities to Read and Write. Then it seems a wrong Computation, that the Revenues of the Church throughout this Island would be large enough to maintain Two Hundred Young Gentlemen, or even half that Number, after the present refined way of Living, that is, to allow each of them such a Rent, as in the modern Form of Speech, would make them Easy. But still there is in this Project a greater Mischief behind; And we ought to beware of the Woman's Folly, who killed the Hen that every Morning laid her a Golden Egg. For, pray what would become of the Race of Men in the next Age, if we had nothing to trust to besides the Scrophulous consumptive Production furnished by our Men of Wit and Pleasure, when having squandred away their Vigor, Health and Estates, they are forced by some disagreeable Marriage to piece up their broken Fortunes, and entail Rottenness and Politeness on their Posterity. Now, here

here are Ten Thousand Persons reduced by the wise Regulations of *Henry* the Eighth, to the necessity of a low Dyet, and moderate Exercise, who are the only great Restorers of our Breed, without which the Nation would in an Age or two become but one great Hospital.

ANOTHER Advantage proposed by the Abolishing of Christianity, is the clear Gain of one Day in Seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the Kingdom one Seventh less considerable in Trade, Business, and Pleasure; beside the Loss to the Publick of so many Stately Structures now in the Hands of the Clergy, which might be converted into Play-houses, Exchanges, Market-houses, common Dormitories, and other Publick Edifices.

I hope I shall be forgiven a hard Word if I call this a perfect Cavil. I readily own there hath been an old Custom time out of mind, for People to assemble in the Churches every *Sunday*, and that shops are still frequently shut,

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in order as it is conceived, to preserve the Memory of that antient Practice, but how this can prove a hindrance to Business or Pleasure, is hard to imagine. What if the Men of Pleasure are forced one Day in the Week to Game at Home instead of the *Chocolate-House*. Are not the *Taverns* and *Coffee-Houses* open? Can there be a more convenient Season for taking a Dose of Physick? Are fewer Claps got upon *Sundays* than other Days? Is not that the chief Day for Traders to Sum up the Accounts of the Week, and for Lawyers to prepare their Briefs? But I would fain know how it can be pretended that the Churches are misapplied. Where are more Appointments and Rendevouzes of Gallantry? Where more Care to appear in the foremost Box with greater Advantage of Dress? Where more Meetings for Business? Where more Bargains driven of all sorts? And where so many Conveniencies or Incitements to Sleep?

THERE is one Advantage greater than any of the foregoing, proposed

posed by the Abolishing of Christianity, that it will utterly extinguish Parties among us, by removing those Factious Distinctions of High and Low Church, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Presbyterian* and *Church of England*, which are now so many mutual Clogs upon Publick Proceedings, and are apt to prefer the gratifying themselves or depressing their Adversaries, before the most important Interest of the State.

I confess, if it were certain that so great an Advantage would redound to the Nation by this Expedient, I would submit and be silent: But, will any Man say that if the Words, *Whoring*, *Drinking*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Stealing*, were by Act of Parliament ejected out of the *English* Tongue and Dictionaries; We should all Awake next Morning Chast and Temperate, Honest and Just, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Consequence? Or if the Physicians would forbid us to pronounce the Words *Pox*, *Gout*, *Rhumatism* and *Stone*, would that Expedient serve like so many *Talismans* to

M 3 destroy

destroy the Diseases themselves. Are Party and Faction rooted in Mens Hearts no deeper than Phrases borrowed from Religion, or founded upon no firmer Principles? And is our Language so poor that we cannot find other Terms to express them? Are Envy, Pride, Avarice and Ambition such ill Nomenclators, that they cannot furnish Appellations for their Owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamelukes*, *Mandarins* and *Pashaws*, or any other Words formed at Pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the Ministry from others who would be in it if they could? What, for instance, is easier than to vary the Form of Speech, and instead of the Word, Church, make it a Question in Politicks, Whether the Monument be in Danger? Because Religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient Phrases, is our Invention so barren, we can find no others? Suppose for Argument sake, that the *Tories* favoured *Margarita*, the *Whigs*, Mrs. *Tofis*, and the *Trimmers* *Valentini*, would not *Margaritians*, *Tofians* and *Valentinians* be very tolerable Marks

Marks of Distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veneti*, two most virulent Factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a Distinction of Colors in Ribbans, which we might do with as Good a Grace about the Dignity of the *Blew* and the *Green*, and serve as properly to divide the Court, the Parliament, and the Kingdom between them, as any Terms of Art whatsoever, borrowed from Religion. And therefore I think there is little Force in this Objection against Christianity, or Prospect of so great an Advantage as is proposed in the abolishing of it.

'TIS again objected as a very absurd ridiculous Custom, that a Set of Men should be suffered, much less employed and hired, to bawl one Day in Seven against the Lawfulness of those Methods most in use towards the Pursuit of Greatness, Riches and Pleasure, which are the constant Practice of all Men alive on the other Six. But this Objection is I think, a little unworthy so refined an Age as ours. Let us argue this Matter

M 4 calmly:

calmly ; I appeal to the Breast of any polite Free Thinker, whether in the Pursuit of gratifying a predominant Passion, he hath not always felt a wonderful Incitement, by reflecting it was a Thing forbidden ; And therefore we see, in order to cultivate this Test, the Wisdom of the Nation hath taken special Care, that the Ladies should be furnished with Prohibited Silks, and the Men with Prohibited Wine ; And indeed it were to be wisht, that some other Prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the Pleasures of the Town, which for want of such Expedients begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel Inroads from the Spleen.

'TIS likewise proposed as a great Advantage to the Publick, that if we once discard the System of the Gospel, all Religion will of course be banished for ever, and consequently along with it, those grievous Prejudices of Education, which under the Names of Virtue, Conscience, Honor, Justice, and the like, are so apt to disturb

sturb the Peace of human Minds, and the Notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by Right Reason or Free Thinking, sometimes during the whole Course of our Lives.

HERE first I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a Phrase which the World is once grown fond of, though the occasion that first produced it, be entirely taken away. For some Years past, if a Man had but an ill-favoured Nose, the deep Thinkers of the Age would some way or other contrive to impute the Cause to the Prejudice of his Education. From this Fountain were said to be derived all our foolish Notions of Justice, Piety, Love of our Country, all our Opinions of God or a Future State, Heaven, Hell and the like: And there might formerly perhaps have been some Pretence for this Charge. But so effectual Care hath been since taken to remove those Prejudices, by an entire Change in the Methods of Education, that (with Honour I mention it to our Polite Innovators) the Young Gentlemen who are now on
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the Scene, seem to have not the least Tincture left of those Infusions, or String of those Weeds, and by consequence the Reason for abolishing Nominal Christianity upon that Pre-text, is wholly ceast.

FOR the rest, it may perhaps admit a Controversy, whether the banishing all Notions of Religion whatsoever, would be convenient for the Vulgar. Not that I am in the least of Opinion with those who hold Religion to have been the Invention of Politicians, to keep the lower Part of the World in Awe by the fear of Invisible Powers; unless Mankind were then very different from what it is now: For I look upon the Mass or Body of our People here in *England*, to be as Free Thinkers, that is to say, as Stanch Unbelievers, as any of the highest Rank. But I conceive some scattered Notions about a Superior Power to be of singular Use for the Common People, as furnishing excellent Materials to keep Children quiet when they grow peevish, and
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providing Topicks of Amusement in a tedious Winter Night.

LASTLY, 'tis propos'd as a singular Advantage, that the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Protestants*, by enlarging the Terms of Communion so as to take in all sorts of *Dissenters*, who are now shut out of the Pale upon Account of a few Ceremonies which all Sides confess to be Things indifferent: That this alone will effectually answer the great Ends of a Scheme for Comprehension, by opening a large noble Gate, at which all Bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *Dissenters*, and dodging about this or t'other Ceremony, is but like opening a few Wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that, not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his Body.

TO all this I answer; that there is one darling Inclination of Mankind, which usually affects to be a Retainer

Retainer to Religion, though she be neither it's Parent, it's Godmother, nor it's Friend; I mean the Spirit of Opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us for instance, examine wherein the Opposition of Sectaries among us consists, we shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all. Does the Gospel any where prescribe a starcht squeezed Countenance, a Stiff formal Gate, a singularity of Manners and Habit, or any affected Forms and Modes of Speech different from the reasonable Part of Mankind. Yet, if Christianity did not lend it's name, to stand in the Gap, and to employ or divert these Humors, they must of necessity be spent in Contraventions to the Laws of the Land, and Disturbance of the Publick Peace. There is a Portion of Enthusiasm assigned to every Nation, which if it hath not proper Objects to work on, will burst out, and set all into a Flame. If the Quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour, it is a Purchase no Wise Man would refuse.

refuse. Let the Mastiffs amuse themselves about a Sheepskin stufft with Hay, provided it will keep them from Worrying the Flock. The Institution of Convents abroad, seems in one Point a strain of great Wisdom, there being few Irregularities in human Passions, which may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those Orders, which are so many Retreats for the Speculative, the Melancholy, the Proud, the Silent, the Politick and the Morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the Noxious Particles; for each of whom we in this Island are forced to provide a several Sect of Religion, to keep them Quiet; and whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the Legislature must find some other Expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a Gate you open, if there will be always left a Number who [place a Pride and a Merit in not coming in.

HAVING thus consider'd the most important Objections against Christianity, and the chief Advantages

tages proposed by the Abolishing thereof; I shall now with equal Deference and Submission to wiser Judgments as before, proceed to mention a few Inconveniencies that may happen, if the Gospel should be repealed; which perhaps the Projectors may not have sufficiently considered.

AND first, I am very sensible how much the Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure are apt to murmur, and be choqued at the sight of so many daggled-tail Parsons, that happen to fall in their way, and offend their Eyes; but at the same Time these wise Reformers do not consider what an Advantage and Felicity it is, for great Wits to be always provided with Objects of Scorn and Contempt, in order to exercise and improve their Talents, and divert their Spleen from falling on each other or on themselves, especially when all this may be done without the least imaginable Danger to their Persons.

AND to urge another Argument of a parallel Nature. If Christianity were

were once abolished, how would the Free Thinkers, the Strong Reasoners, and the Men of profound Learning, be able to find another Subject so calculated in all Points whereon to display their Abilities. What wonderful Productions of Wit should we be deprived of, from those whose Genius by continual Practice hath been wholly turn'd upon Railery and Invectives against Religion, and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other Subject. We are daily complaining of the great decline of Wit among us, and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only Topick we have left? Who would ever have suspected *Asgil* for a Wit, or *Toland* for a Philosopher, if the inexhaustible Stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with Materials. What other Subject through all Art or Nature could have produced *Tindall* for a profound Author, or furnished him with Readers. It is the wise Choice of the Subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the Writer. For, had a Hundred such
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Pens as these been employed on the side of Religion, they would have immediately sunk into Silence and Oblivion.

NOR do I think it wholly groundless, or my Fears altogether imaginary, that the Abolishing of Christianity may perhaps bring the Church in Danger, or at least put the Senate to the Trouble of another Securing Vote. I desire I may not be mistaken; I am far from presuming to affirm or think that the Church is in Danger at present, or as Things now stand, but we know not how soon it may be so when the Christian Religion is repealed. As plausible as this Project seems, there may a dangerous Design lurk under it; Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Subdivisions of Free Thinkers, are Persons of little Zeal for the present Ecclesiastical Establishment: Their declared Opinion is for repealing the Sacramental Test, they are very indifferent with regard to Ceremonies, nor do they

they hold the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore they may be intended as one Politick step towards altering the Constitution of the Church Established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the stead, which I leave to be further considered by those at the Helm.

IN the last Place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that by this Expedient, we shall run into the Evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the Abolishment of the *Christian* Religion, will be the readiest Course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this Opinion, because we know it has been the constant Practice of the *Jesuits* to send over Emissaries, with Instructions to personate themselves Members of the several prevailing Sects amongst us. So it is recorded, that they have at sundry Times appeared in the Guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents* and *Quakers*, according as any of these were most in Credit; So, since the Fashion hath been taken up of exploding Religion, the *Popish*

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Missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the Free-Thinkers; among whom, *Toland* the great Oracle of the *Anti-Christians* is an *Irish* Priest, the Son of an *Irish* Priest; and the most learned and ingenious Author of a Book called the *Rights of the Christian Church*, was in a proper Juncture reconciled to the *Romish* Faith, whose true Son, as appears by a hundred Passages in his Treatise he still continues. Perhaps I could add some others to the Number; but the Fact is beyond Dispute, and the Reasoning they proceed by is right: For supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the People will never be at Ease till they find out some other Method of Worship; which will as infallibly produce Superstition, as this will end in *Popery*.

AND therefore, if notwithstanding all I have said, it still be thought necessary to have a Bill brought in for repealing Christianity; I would humbly offer an Amendment; that instead of the Word, Christianity, may be put Religion in general, which
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I conceive will much better answer all the good Ends proposed by the Projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being, a God and his Providence, with all the necessary Consequences which curious and inquisitive Men will be apt to draw from such Premises, we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present Scheme of the Gospel; For, of what use is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action, which is the sole End, how remote soever in Appearance, of all Objections against Christianity; And therefore, the Free-Thinkers consider it as a sort of Edifice, wherein all the Parts have such a mutual Dependence on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single Nail, the whole Fabrick must fall to the Ground. This was happily express'd by him who had heard of a Text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an antient Manuscript was differently read; He thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a sudden Deduction of a long

Sorites, most Logically concluded; Why, if it be as you say, I may safely Whore and Drink on, and defy the Parson. From which, and many the like Instances easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest, than that the Quarrel is not against any particular Points of hard digestion in the Christian System, but against Religion in general, which by laying Restraints on human Nature, is supposed the great Enemy to the Freedom of Thought and Action.

UPON the whole, if it shall still be thought for the Benefit of Church and State, that Christianity be abolished; I conceive however, it may be more convenient to defer the Execution to a Time of Peace, and not venture in this Conjunction to disoblige our Allies, who as it falls out, are all Christians, and many of them, by the Prejudices of their Education, so bigotted, as to place a sort of Pride in the Appellation. If upon being rejected by them, we are to trust to an Alliance with the *Turk*, we shall

shall find our selves much deceived : For, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in War with the *Persian* Emperor, so his People would be more Scandalized at our Infidelity, than our Christian Neighbours. For they are not only strict observers of Religious Worship ; but what is worse, believe a God, which is more than is required of us even while we preserve the Name of Christians.

TO conclude, Whatever some may think of the great Advantages to Trade by this favourite Scheme, I do very much apprehend, that in Six Months time after the Act is past for the Extirpation of the Gospel, the Bank, and *East-India* Stock, may fall at least One *per Cent.* And since that is Fifty times more than ever the Wisdom of our Age thought fit to venture for the Preservation of Christianity, there is no Reason we should be at so great a Loss meerly for the sake of destroying it.

F I N I S.

A
PROJECT
FOR THE
Advancement of Religion,
AND THE
Reformation of Manners.

By a Person of QUALITY.

Written in the Year, 1709.

TO THE
Countess of BERKELEY.

Madam,

MY Intention in prefixing Your
Ladyship's Name, is not,
after the common Form, to
desire Your Protection of the follow-
ing

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ing Papers; which I take to be a very unreasonable Request; since by being inscribed to Your Ladyship, tho' without Your Knowledge, and from a concealed Hand, You cannot recommend them without some Suspicion of Partiality. My real Design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most Dedications; That of Publishing Your Praises to the World. Not upon the Subject of Your noble Birth, for I know others as Noble; or of the Greatness of Your Fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful Race (the Images of their Parents) which calls you Mother: For even this may perhaps have been equall'd in some other Age or Country. Besides, none of these Advantages do derive any Accomplishments to the Owners, but serve at best only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend, is Your Piety, Truth, Good Sense, and good Nature, Affability, and Charity; wherein I wish Your Ladyship had many Equals, or any Superiors; and I wish I could say I knew them too, for then Your Ladyship might have

had a Chance to escape this Address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary for the Interest of Virtue and Religion that the whole Kingdom should be informed in some Parts of Your Character: For Instance; that the easiest and politest Conversation, joyn'd with the truest Piety, may be observed in Your Ladyship in as great Perfection as they were ever seen apart in any other Persons. That by Your Prudence and Management under several Disadvantages, You have preserv'd the Lustre of that most Noble Family into which You are grafted, and which the unmeasurable Profusion of Ancestors for many Generations had too much eclipsed. Then, how happily You perform every Office of Life to which Providence hath called You: In the Education of those two incomperable Daughters, whose Conduct is so universally admir'd; in every Duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate Wife; in that Care which descends to the meanest of Your Domesticks; and lastly, in that Endless Bounty to the Poor, and Discretion where to distribute it.

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I insist on my Opinion, that it is of Importance for the Publick to know this and a great deal more of Your Ladyship; yet whoever goes about to inform them, shall instead of finding Credit, perhaps be censured for a Flatterer. To avoid so usual a Reproach, I declare this to be no Dedication, but properly an Introduction to a Proposal for the Advancement of Religion and Morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, some few Lineaments in the Character of a Lady, who hath spent all her Life in the Practice and Promotion of both.

AMONG all the Schemes offered to the Publick in this projecting Age, I have observed with some Displeasure, that there have never been any for the Improvement of Religion and Morals: Which beside the Piety of the Design from the Consequences of such a Reformation in a future Life, would be the best natural Means for advancing the Publick Felicity of the State, as well as the present Happiness of every Individual. For, as much as Faith and Morality are declined

ned among us, I am altogether confident, they might in a short Time, and with no very great Trouble be raised to as high a Perfection as Numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed the Method is so easy and obvious, and some present Opportunities so good, that in order to have this Project reduced to Practice, there seems to want nothing more than to put those in mind who by their Honour, Duty, and Interest are chiefly concerned.

BUT because it is Idle to propose Remedies before we are assur'd of the Disease, or to be in Pain 'till we are convinced of the Danger; I shall first shew in general, that the Nation is extremely corrupted in Religion and Morals; and then I will offer a short Scheme for the Reformation of both.

AS to the First; I know it is reckoned but a Form of Speech when Divines complain of the Wickedness of the Age: However, I believe, upon a fair Comparison with other Times

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Times and Countries, it would be found an undoubted Truth.

FOR, First; To deliver nothing but plain Matter of Fact without Exaggeration or Satyr; I suppose it will be granted, that hardly one in a hundred among our People of Quality or Gentry, appears to act by any Principle of Religion; That great Numbers of them do entirely discard it, and are ready to own their Disbelief of all Revelation in ordinary Discourse. Nor is the Case much better among the Vulgar, especially in great Towns, where the Profaneness and Ignorance of Handicraftsmen, small Traders, Servants, and the like, are to a Degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then, it is observed abroad, that no Race of Mortals hath so little Sense of Religion as the *English* Soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great Officers in the Army, that in the whole Compass of their Acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their Profession, who seemed to regard or believe one Syllable of
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the Gospel: And the same at least may be affirmed of the Fleet. The Consequences of all which upon the Actions of Men are equally manifest. They never go about, as in former Times, to hide or palliate their Vices, but expose them freely to View like any other common Occurrences of Life, without the least Reproach from the World or themselves. For instance, any Man will tell you, he intends to be drunk this Evening, or was so last Night, with as little Ceremony or Scruple, as he would tell you the Time of the Day. He will let you know he is going to a Whore, or that he has got a Clap, with as much Indifferency as he would a Piece of Publick News. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme without the least Passion or Provocation. And, though all regard for Reputation is not quite laid aside in the other Sex, 'tis however at so low an Ebb, that very few among them seem to think Virtue and Conduct of absolute Necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how comes it to pass, that Women of tainted Reputations find
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the same Countenance and Reception in all Publick Places, with those of the nicest Virtue, who pay, and receive Visits from them without any manner of Scruple; which Proceeding, as it is not very old among us, so I take it to be of most pernicious Consequence: It looks like a sort of compounding between Virtue and Vice, as if a Woman were allowed to be Vicious, provided she be not profligate; as if there were a certain Point where Gallantry ends, and Infamy begins; or that a hundred Criminal Amours were not as pardonable as half a Score.

BESIDE those Corruptions already mentioned, it would be Endless to Enumerate such as arise from the Excess of Play, or Gaming: The Cheats, the Quarrels, the Oaths and Blasphemies among the Men, Among the Women, the Neglect of Household Affairs, the Unlimited Freedoms, the Undecent Passion; And lastly, the known Inlet to all Lewdness, when after an ill Run, the *Person* must answer the Defects of the
Purse:

Purse: The Rule on such Occasions holding true in Play as it does in Law; *Quod non habet in Crumena, inat in Corpore.*

BUT all these are Trifles in Comparison, if we step into other Scenes, and consider the Fraud and Cousinage of Trading-men and Shop-keepers; that insatiable Gulph of Injustice and Oppression, the *Law*. The open Traffick of all Civil and Military Employments (I wish it rested there) without the least Regard to Merit or Qualifications: The corrupt Management of Men in Office; the many detestable Abuses in chusing those who represent the People, with the Management of Interests and Factions among the Representatives. To which I must be bold to add the Ignorance among some of the Lower Clergy; the mean servile Temper of others; the pert Pragmatical Demeanor of several young Stagers in Divinity, upon their first producing themselves into the World; with many other Circumstances needless, or rather invidious to mention; which falling
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in with the Corruptions already related, have, however unjustly, almost render'd the whole Order contemptible.

THIS is a short View of the general Depravities among us, without entering into particulars, which would be an endless Labour. Now, as universal and deep rooted as these appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual Remedy might not be applied to most of them; neither am I at present upon a wild speculative Project, but such a one as may be easily put in Execution.

FOR, While the Prerogative of giving all Employments continues in the Crown, either immediately, or by Subordination; it is in the Power of the *Prince* to make Piety and Virtue become the Fashion of the Age, if at the same time he would make them necessary Qualifications for Favour and Preferment.

IT is clear from present Experience, that the bare Example of the
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best Prince, will not have any mighty Influence where the Age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better Prince on the Throne than the present Queen? I do not talk of Her Talent for Government, Her Love of the People, or any other Qualities that are purely Regal; but Her Piety, Charity, Temperance, Conjugal Love, and whatever other Virtues do best adorn a private Life; wherein without Question or Flattery, She hath no Superior: Yet neither will it be Satyr or peevish Invective to affirm, that Infidelity and Vice are not much diminished since Her coming to the Crown, nor will, in Probability, 'till some more effectual Remedies be provided.

THUS human Nature seems to lie under this Disadvantage, that the Example alone of a vicious Prince will in time corrupt an Age, but That of a good One will not be sufficient to reform it, without further Endeavours. Princes must therefore supply this Defect by a vigorous Exercise of that Authority which the Law
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has left them, by making it every Man's Interest and Honour to cultivate Religion and Virtue; by rendring Vice a Disgrace, and the certain Ruin to Preferment or Pretentions: All which they should first attempt in their own Courts and Families. For instance; Might not the Queen's Domesticks of the middle and lower Sort, be obliged upon Penalty of Suspension or Loss of their Employments, to a constant Weekly Attendance, on the Service of the Church; to a decent Behaviour in it; to receive the Sacrament Four Times in the Year; to avoid Swearing and irreligious prophane Discourses; and to the Appearance at least, of Temperance and Chastity? Might not the Care of all this be committed to the strict Inspection of proper Officers? Might not those of higher Rank and nearer Access to Her Majesty, receive Her own Commands to the same Purpose, and be countenanced or disfavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay Her Injunctions on the Bishops, and other great Men of undoubted Piety, to make diligent En-

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quiry, and give Her Notice, if any Person about Her should happen to be of Libertine Principles or Morals? Might not all those who enter upon any Office in Her Majesty's Family, be obliged to take an Oath parallel with That against Simony, which is administered to the Clergy? 'Tis not to be doubted, but that if these or the like Proceedings were duly observed, Morality and Religion would soon become fashionable Court Virtues; and be taken up as the only Methods to get or keep Employments there; which alone would have mighty Influence upon many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry.

BUT, If the like Methods were pursued as far as possible with regard to those who are in the great Employments of the State, it is hard to conceive how general a Reformation it might in time produce among us. For, if Piety and Virtue were once reckoned Qualifications necessary for Preferment; every Man thus endowed, when put into great Stations, would readily imitate the Queen's Example
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in the Distribution of all Offices in his Disposal; especially if any apparent Transgression thro' Favour or Partiality, would be imputed to him for a Misdemeanor, by which he must certainly forfeit his Favour and Station: And there being such great Numbers in Employment, scatter'd through every Town and County in this Kingdom; if all these were exemplary in the Conduct of their Lives, Things would soon take a new Face, and Religion receive a mighty Encouragement: Nor would the publick Weal be less advanced; since, of Nine Offices in Ten that are ill executed, the Defect is not in Capacity or Understanding, but in common Honesty. I know no Employment for which Piety disqualifies any Man; and if it did, I doubt, the Objection would not be very seasonably offered at present: Because, it is perhaps too just a Reflection, that in the Disposal of Places, the Question whether a Person be *fit* for what he is recommended, is very often the last that is thought on, or regarded.

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I HAVE often imagined, that something parallel to the Office of Censors antiently in *Rome*, would be of mighty Use among us, and could be easily limited from running into any Exorbitancies. The *Romans* understood Liberty at least as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every Occasion as bold Assertors. Yet I do not remember to have read any great Complaints of the Abuses in that Office among them; but many admirable Effects of it are left upon Record. There are several pernicious Vices frequent and notorious among us, that escape or elude the Punishment of any Law we have yet invented, or have had no Law at all against them; such as Atheism, Drunkenness, Fraud, Avarice, and several others, which by this Institution wisely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppose for instance, that itinerary Commissioners were appointed to inspect every where throughout the Kingdom, into the Conduct (at least) of Men in Office, with respect to their Morals and Religion as well as their

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their Abilities; To receive the Complaints and Informations that should be offered against them, and make their Report here upon Oath, to the Court or the Ministry, who should reward or punish accordingly. I avoid entering into the Particulars of this or any other Scheme, which coming from a private Hand, might be liable to many Defects, but would soon be digested by the Wisdom of the Nation: And surely, Six thousand Pounds a Year would not be ill laid out among as many Commissioners duly qualified, who in Three Divisions should be personally obliged to take their yearly Circuits for that Purpose.

BUT this is beside my present Design, which was only to shew what Degree of Reformation is in the Power of the Queen, without Interposition of the Legislature, and which Her Majesty is without Question obliged in Conscience to endeavour by Her Authority, as much as She does by Her Practice.

IT will be easily granted, that the Example of this great Town hath a mighty Influence over the whole Kingdom; and it is as manifest, that the Town is equally influenced by the Court and the Ministry, and those who by their Employments or their Hopes depend upon them. Now, if under so excellent a Prince as the present Queen, we would suppose a Family strictly regulated as I have above proposed; a Ministry, where every single Person was of distinguished Piety; if we should suppose all great Offices of State and Law filled after the same Manner, and with such as were equally diligent in chusing Persons who in their several Subordinations would be obliged to follow the Examples of their Superiors, under the Penalty of Loss of Favour and Place; Will not every Body grant that the Empire of Vice, and Irreligion would be soon destroyed in this great Metropolis, and receive a terrible Blow through the whole Island, which hath so great an Intercourse with it, and so much affects to follow it's Fashions.

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FOR, If Religion were once understood to be the necessary Step to Favour and Preferment; can it be imagined that any Man would openly offend against it, who had the least Regard for his Reputation or his Fortune? There is no Quality so contrary to any Nature, which Men cannot affect and put on upon Occasion, in order to serve an Interest, or gratify a prevailing Passion. The proudest Man will personate Humility, the morosest learn to Flatter, the laziest will be Sedulous and Active, where he is in pursuit of what he has much at Heart; How ready therefore would most Men be to step into the Paths of Virtue and Piety, if they infallibly led to Favour and Fortune.

IF Swearing and Prophaneness, scandalous and avowed Lewdness, excessive Gaming and Intemperance were a little discontenanced in the Army, I cannot readily see what ill Consequences could be apprehended; if Gentlemen of that Profession were at

least obliged to some external Decorum in their Conduct; or even if a profligate Life and Character were not a Means of Advancement, and the Appearance of Piety a most infallible Hindrance, it is impossible the Corruptions there should be so universal and exorbitant. I have been assured by several great Officers, that no Troops abroad are so ill disciplined as the *English*, which cannot well be otherwise, while the common Soldiers have perpetually before their Eyes the vicious Example of their Leaders; and it is hardly possible for those to commit any Crime, whereof these are not infinitely more guilty, and with less Temptation.

IT is commonly charged upon the Gentlemen of the Army, that the beastly Vice of drinking to Excess, hath been lately from their Example restored among us; which for some Years before, was almost dropt in *England*. But, whoever the Introducers were, they have succeeded to a Miracle; many of the young Nobility and Gentry are already become
great

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great Proficients, and are under no Manner of Concern to hide their Talent, but are got beyond all Sense of Shame or Fear of Reproach.

THIS might soon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young Person of Quality whatsoever, who were notoriously addicted to that or any other Vice, should be capable of Her Favour, or even admitted into Her Presence; with positive Command to Her Ministers and others in great Office, to treat them in the same Manner; after which, all Men who had any Regard for their Reputation, or any Prospect of Preferment, would avoid their Commerce. This would quickly make Vice so scandalous, that those who could not subdue, would at least endeavour to disguise it.

BY the like Methods, a Stop might be put to that ruinous Practice of deep Gaming; and the Reason why it prevails so much, is because a Treatment *directly opposite* in every Point

Point is made use of to promote it; by which Means, the Laws made against this Abuse are wholly eluded.

IT cannot be denied that the Want of strict Discipline in the Universities, hath been of pernicious Consequence to the Youth of this Nation, who are there almost left entirely to their own Management, especially those among them of better Quality and Fortune; who because they are not under a necessity of making Learning their Maintenance, are easily allowed to pass their Time and take their Degrees with little or no Improvement: Than which there cannot well be a greater Absurdity. For if no Advancement of Knowledge can be had from those Places, the Time there spent is at best utterly lost, because every ornamental Part of Education is better taught elsewhere: And as for keeping Youths out of Harms-way, I doubt, where so many of them are got together at full Liberty of doing what they please, it will not answer the End. But, whatever Abuses

Abuses, Corruptions, or Deviations from Statutes have crept into the Universities, through Neglect, or Length of Time; they might in a great Degree be reformed by strict Injunctions from Court, (upon each Particular) to the Visitors and Heads of Houses; besides the peculiar Authority the Queen may have in several Colledges, whereof Her Predecessors were the Founders. And among other Regulations it would be very convenient to prevent the Excess of Drink, with that scurvy Custom among the Lads, and Parent of the former Vice, the taking of Tobacco, where it is not absolutely necessary in Point of Health.

FROM the Universities, the young Nobility, and others of great Fortunes, are sent for early up to Town, for fear of contracting any Airs of Pedantry by a Colledge Education. Many of the younger Gentry retire to the Inns of Court, where they are wholly left to their own Discretion. And the Consequence of this Remisness in Education appears by observing,

serving, that Nine in Ten of those who rise in the Church or the Court, the Law or the Army, are younger Brothers, or new Men, whose narrow Fortunes have forced them upon Industry and Application.

AS for the Inns of Court, unless we suppose them to be much degenerated, they must needs be the worst instituted Seminaries in any Christian Country; but whether they may be corrected without Interposition of the Legislature, I have not Skill enough to determine. However, it is certain that all wise Nations have agreed in the Necessity of a strict Education, which consisted among other Things in the Observance of Moral Duties, especially, Justice, Temperance, and Chastity, as well as the Knowledge of Arts, and bodily Exercises: But all these, among us are laughed out of Doors.

WITHOUT the least Intention to offend the Clergy, I cannot but think, that through a mistaken Notion and Practice, they prevent themselves

selves from doing much Service, which otherwise might lie in their Power, to Religion and Virtue: I mean, by affecting so much to converse with each other, and caring so little to mingle with the Laity. They have their particular Clubs, and particular Coffee-houses, where they generally appear in Clusters: A single Divine dares hardly shew his Person among Numbers of fine Gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into such Company, he is silent, and suspicious, in continual Apprehension, that some pert Man of Pleasure should break an unmannerly Jest, and render him ridiculous. Now, I take this Behaviour of the Clergy to be just as reasonable, as if the Physicians should agree to spend their Time in visiting one another, or their several Apothecaries, and leave their Patients to shift for themselves. In my humble Opinion, the Clergy's Business lies entirely among the Laity; neither is there perhaps a more effectual Way to forward the Salvation of Mens Souls, than for spiritual Persons to make themselves as agreeable as they can in the Conversation.

versations of the World; for which a learned Education gives them great Advantage, if they would please to improve and apply it. - It so happens, that the *Men of Pleasure*, who never go to Church, nor amuse themselves to read Books of Devotion, form their Idea's of the Clergy from a few poor Strolers they often observe in the Streets, or sneaking out of some Person of Quality's House, where they are hired by the Lady at Ten Shillings a Month; while those of better Figure and Parts do seldom appear, to correct these Notions. And let some Reasoners think what they please, 'tis certain, that Men must be brought to esteem and love the Clergy, before they can be perswaded to be in love with Religion. No Man values the best Medicine if administered by a Physician whose Person he hates or despises. If the Clergy were as forward to appear in all Companies, as other Gentlemen, and would a little study the Arts of Conversation, to make themselves agreeable, they might be welcome at every Party, where there was the least Regard for Politeness

ness or good Sense; and consequently prevent a thousand vicious or prophane Discourses, as well as Actions; neither would Men of Understanding complain, that a Clergyman was a Constraint upon the Company, because they could not speak Blasphemy or obscene Jest before him. While the People are so jealous of the Clergy's Ambition, as to abhor all Thoughts of the Return of Ecclesiastick Discipline among them, I do not see any other Method left for Men of that Function to take, in order to reform the World, than by using all honest Arts to make themselves acceptable to the Laity. This, no doubt, is Part of that Wisdom of the Serpent, which the Author of Christianity directs, and is the very Method used by St. Paul, who *became all things to all Men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

HOW to remedy these Inconveniences, may be a Matter of some Difficulty, since the Clergy seem to be of an Opinion, that this Humour of sequestering themselves is a Part of
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their Duty; nay, as I remember, they have been told so by some of their Bishops in their pastoral Letters, particularly by *one* among them of great Merit and Distinction, who yet in his own Practice hath all his Life-time taken a Course directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward Shame, and Fear of ill Usage from the Laity, have not a greater Share in the mistaken Conduct, than their own Inclinations: However, if the outward Profession of Religion and Virtue, were once in Practice and Countenance at Court, as well as among all Men in Office, or who have any Hopes or Dependence for Preferment; a good Treatment of the Clergy would be the necessary Consequence of such a Reformation; and they would soon be wise enough to see their own Duty and Interest in qualifying themselves for Lay-Conversation, when once they were out of Fear of being chocqued by Ribaldry or Prophaneness.

THERE is one further Circumstance upon this Occasion, which I know not whether it will be very
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Orthodox to mention: The Clergy are the only Set of Men among us who constantly wear a distinct Habit from others: The Consequence of which (not in Reason but in Fact) is this, that as long as any scandalous Persons appear in that Dress, it will continue in some Degree a general Mark of Contempt. Whoever happens to see a *Sconndrel in a Gown*, reeling Home at Midnight (a Sight neither *frequent* nor *miraculous*) is apt to entertain an ill Idea of the whole Order, and at the same Time to be extreamly comforted in his own Vices. Some Remedy might be put to this, if those straggling Gentlemen who come up to Town to *seek their Fortunes*, were fairly dismiss'd to the *West-Indies*, where there is Work enough, and where some better Provision should be made for them, than I doubt there is at present. Or, what if no Person were allowed to wear the Habit who had not some Preferment in the Church, or at least some temporal Fortune sufficient to keep him out of Contempt? Though in my Opinion, it were infinitely better,

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if all the Clergy (except the Bishops) were permitted to appear like other Men of the graver Sort, unless at those Seasons when they are doing the Business of their Function.

THERE is one Abuse in this Town which wonderfully contributes to the Promotion of Vice; that such Men are often put into the Commission of the Peace, whose Interest it is, that Virtue should be utterly banished from among us; who maintain, or at least enrich themselves by encouraging the grossest Immoralities; to whom all the *Bawds* of the *Ward* pay Contribution for Shelter and Protection from the Laws. Thus these worthy Magistrates, instead of lessening Enormities, are the Occasion of just twice as much Debauchery as there would be without them. For those infamous Women are forced upon doubling their Work and Industry, to answer double Charges, of paying the Justice, and supporting themselves. Like Thieves, who scape the Gallows, and are let out to steal in order to discharge the Jaylors Fees.

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IT is not to be questioned, but the Queen and Ministry might easily redress this abominable Grievance; by enlarging the Number of Justices of the Peace, by endeavouring to chuse Men of virtuous Principles, by admitting none who have not considerable Fortunes, perhaps by receiveing into the Number some of the most eminent Clergy: Then, by forcing all of them upon severe Penalties, to act when there is Occasion, and not permitting any who are offered, to refuse the Commission; but in these Two last Cases, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the Legislature.

THE Reformation of the Stage is entirely in the Power of the Queen; and in the Consequences it hath upon the Minds of younger People, does very well deserve the strictest Care. Beside the undecent and prophane Passages; beside the perpetual turning into Ridicule the very Function of the Priesthood, with other Irregularities in most modern Comedies, which have been often objected to

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them; it is worth observing the distributive Justice of the Authors, which is constantly applied to the Punishment of Virtue, and the Reward of Vice; directly opposite to the Rules of their best Criticks, as well as to the Practice of dramatick Poets in all other Ages and Countries. For Example, A Country Squire, who is represented with no other Vice but that of being a Clown, and having the Provincial Accent upon his Tongue, which is neither a Fault, nor in his Power to remedy; must be condemned to marry a cast Wench, or a crackt Chamber-maid. On the other side, a Rakehell of the Town, whose Character is set off with no other Accomplishments but excessive Prodigality, Prophaneness, Intemperance, and Lust; is rewarded with the Lady of great Fortune, to repair his own, which his Vices had almost ruined. And as in a Tragedy, the Hero is represented to have obtained many Victories, in order to raise his Character in the Minds of the Spectators, so the Hero of a Comedy is represented to have been victorious
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in all his Intrigues, for the same Reason. I do not remember that our *English* Poets ever suffer'd a criminal Amour to succeed upon the Stage, 'till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. Ever since that Time, the Alderman is made a Cuckold, the deluded Virgin is debauched, and Adultery and Fornication are supposed to be committed behind the Scenes, as Part of the Action. These and many more Corruptions of the Theatre, peculiar to our Age and Nation, need continue no longer than while the Court is content to connive at or neglect them. Surely a Pension would not be ill employ'd on some Man of Wit, Learning, and Virtue, who might have Power to strike out every offensive or unbecoming Passage from Plays already written, as well as those that may be offered to the Stage for the future. By which and other wise Regulations, the Theatre might become a very innocent and useful Diversion, instead of being the Scandal and Reproach to our Religion and Country.

THE Proposals I have hitherto made for the Advancement of Religion and Morality, are such as come within Reach of the Administration; such as a pious active Prince, with a steady Resolution might soon bring to Effect. Neither am I aware of any Objections to be raised against what I have advanced; unless it should be thought, that the making Religion a necessary Step to Interest and Favour, might encrease Hypocrisy among us: And I readily believe it would. But if One in Twenty, should be brought over to true Piety by this or the like Methods, and the other Nineteen be only Hypocrites, the Advantage would still be great. Besides, Hypocrisy is much more eligible than open Infidelity and Vice; it wears the Livery of Religion, it acknowledges her Authority, and is cautious of giving Scandal. Nay a long continued Disguise, is too great a Constraint upon human Nature, especially an *English* Disposition; Men would leave off their Vices out of meer Weariness, rather than undergo the

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the Toil and Hazard, and perhaps Expende, of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with Religion as with Love; which by much dissembling, at last grows real.

ALL other Projects to this great End have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against Immorality have not been executed; and Proclamations occasionally issued out to enforce them, are wholly unregarded as Things of Form. Religious Societies, though begun with excellent Intention, and by Persons of true Piety, are said I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious Clubs; and grown a trade to enrich little knavish Informers of the meanest Rank, such as common Constables, and broken Shopkeepers.

AND, That some effectual Attempt should be made towards such a Reformation, is perhaps more necessary than People commonly apprehend; because the Ruin of a State is generally preceded by an universal

Degeneracy of Manners, and Contempt of Religion; which is entirely our Case at present.

Diis te minorem, quod geris, imperas. Hor.

NEITHER is this a Matter to be deferred till a more convenient Time of Peace and Leisure: Because a Reformation in Mens Faith and Morals, is the best natural as well as religious Means to bring the War to a good Conclusion. For, if Men in Trust performed their Duty for Conscience Sake, Affairs would not suffer through Fraud, Falshood, and Neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God and His Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for His divine Assistance in so just a Cause as ours.

NOR could the Majesty of the *English* Crown appear upon any Occasion in a greater Lustre, either to Foreigners or Subjects, than by an Administration, which producing such great Effects, would discover so much Power.

Power. And Power being the natural Appetite of Princes, a limited Monarch cannot so well gratify it in any Thing as a strict Execution of the Laws.

BESIDES; All Parties would be obliged to close with so good a Work as this, for their own Reputation: Neither is any Expedient more likely to unite them. For, the most violent Party-men I have ever observed, are such as in the Conduct of their Lives have discovered least Sense of Religion or Morality; and when all such are laid aside, at least those among them as shall be found incorrigible, it will be a Matter perhaps of no great Difficulty to reconcile the rest.

THE many Corruptions at present in every Branch of Business, are almost inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skilful Persons, that of Six Millions raised every Year for the Service of the Publick, one Third at least, is sunk and intercepted through the several Classes and Subor-

Subordinations of artful Men in Office, before the Remainder is applied to the proper Use. This is an accidental ill Effect of our Freedom. And while such Men are in Trust, who have no Check from within, nor any Views but towards their Interest; there is no other Fence against them but the Certainty of being hanged upon the first Discovery, by the arbitrary Will of an unlimited Monarch or his *Vizier*. Among us, the only Danger to be apprehended, is the Loss of an Employment; and that Danger is to be eluded a Thousand Ways. Besides, when Fraud is great, it furnishes Weapons to defend it self: And at worst, if, the Crimes be so flagrant, that a Man is laid aside out of perfect Shame, (which rarely happens,) he retires loaded with the Spoils of the Nation; *Et fruitur Diis iratis*. I could name a Commission, where several Persons out of a Salary of Five hundred Pounds, without other visible Revenues, have always lived at the Rate of Two thousand, and laid out Forty or Fifty thousand upon Purchases of Land

Land or Annuities. An Hundred other Instances of the same Kind might easily be produced. What Remedy therefore can be found against such Grievances in a Constitution like ours; but to bring Religion into Countenance, and encourage those who from the Hope of future Reward, and Dread of future Punishment, will be moved to act with Justice and Integrity.

THIS is not to be accomplished any other Way, but by introducing Religion as much as possible to be the Turn and Fashion of the Age; which only lies in the Power of the Administration, the Prince with utmost Strictness regulating the Court, the Ministry, and other Persons in great Employment; and these by their Example and Authority, reforming all who have Dependence on them.

IT is certain that a Reformation successfully carried on in this great Town, would in Time spread itself over the whole Kingdom; since most of
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of the considerable Youth pass here that Season of their Lives wherein strongest Impressions are made, in order to improve their Education or advance their Fortune; and those among them who return into their several Countries, are sure to be followed and imitated as the greatest Patterns of Wit and good Breeding,

AND if Things were once in this Train; that is, if Virtue and Religion were established as the necessary Titles to Reputation and Preferment, and if Vice and Infidelity were not only loaded with Infamy, but made the infallible Ruin of all Mens Pretensions; our Duty by becoming our Interest would take Root in our Natures, and mix with the very Genius of our People, so that it would not be easy for the Example of one wicked Prince to bring us back to our former Corruptions.

I HAVE confined my self (as it is before observed) to those Methods for the Advancement of Piety, which are in the Power of a Prince
limited

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limited like ours, by a strict Execution of the Laws already in force. And this is enough for a Project that comes without any Name or Recommendation; I doubt, a great deal more than will suddenly be reduced into Practice. Though, if any Disposition should appear towards so good a Work, it is certain, that the Assistance of the Legislative Power would be necessary to make it more compleat. I will instance only a few Particulars.

IN order to reform the Vices of this Town, which as we have said, hath so mighty an Influence on the whole Kingdom; it would be very instrumental, to have a Law made that all Taverns or Ale-houses should be obliged to dismiss their Company by Twelve at Night, and shut up their Doors; and that no Woman should be suffered to enter any Tavern or Ale-house upon any Pretence whatsoever. It is easy to conceive what a Number of ill Consequences such a Law would prevent; the Mischiefs of Quarrels, and Lewdness, and Thefts,

Thefts, and Midnight Brawls, the Diseases of Intemperance and Venery, and a Thousand other Evils needless to mention. Nor would it be amiss if the Masters of those Publick-houses were obliged upon the severest Penalties to give only a proportioned Quantity of Drink to every Company, and when he found his Guests disordered with Excess, to refuse them any more.

I BELIEVE there is hardly a Nation in Christendom where all kind of Fraud is practised in so unmeasurable a Degree as with us. The Lawyer, the Tradesman, the Mechanick have found so many Arts to deceive in their several Callings, that they far outgrow the common Prudence of Mankind, which is in no Sort able to fence against them. Neither could the Legislature in any thing more consult the Publick Good, than by providing some effectual Remedy against this Evil, which in several Cases deserves greater Punishment than many Crimes that are capital among us. The Vintner who
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by mixing Poison with his Wines, destroys more Lives than any malignant Disease; the Lawyer who persuades you to a Purchase which he knows is mortgaged for more than the Worth, to the Ruin of you and your Family; the Goldsmith or Scrivener who takes all your Fortune to dispose of, when he has before-hand resolved to break the following Day; do surely deserve the Gallows much better than the Wretch who is carried there for stealing a Horse.

IT cannot easily be answered to God or Man, why a Law is not made for limiting the Press; at least so far as to prevent the publishing of such pernicious Books, as under Pretence of *Free-Thinking*, endeavour to overthrow those Tenets in Religion, which have been held inviolable almost in all Ages by every Sect that pretend to be Christian, and cannot therefore with any Colour of Reason be called *Points in Controversy*, or *Matters of Speculation*, as some would pretend. The Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Divinity of Christ*,
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the *Immortality of the Soul*, and even the Truth of all Revelation, are daily exploded, and denied in Books openly Printed; though it is to be supposed, neither Party will avow such Principles, or own the supporting of them to be any way necessary to their Service.

IT would be endless to set down every Corruption or Defect which requires a Remedy from the Legislative Power. Senates are like to have little Regard for any Proposals that come from without Doors; though under a due Sense of my own Inabilities, I am fully convinced that the unbiaſt Thoughts of an honest and wiſe Man employed on the Good of his Country, may be better digeſted than the Reſults of a Multitude where Faction and Intereſt too often prevail; as a ſingle Guide may direct the Way, better than Five hundred who have *contrary Views*, or *look aſquint*, or *ſhut their Eyes*.

I SHALL therefore mention but one more Particular which I think the Parliament ought to take under Consideration; whether it be not a Shame to our Country, and a Scandal to Christianity, that in many Towns where there is a prodigious Encrease in the Number of Houses and Inhabitants, so little Care should be taken for the building of Churches, that Five Parts in Six of the People are absolutely hindred from hearing divine Service: Particularly here in *London*, where a single Minister with One or Two sorry Curats, hath the Care sometimes of above Twenty Thousand Souls incumbent on him. A Neglect of Religion, so ignominious in my Opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized Age or Country.

BUT, To leave these airy Imaginations of introducing new Laws for the Amendment of Mankind: What I principally insist on is a due Execution of the old; which lies wholly in the Crown, and in the

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Authority derived from thence. I therefore return to my former Assertion; that, if Stations of Power, Trust, Profit, and Honour were constantly made the Rewards of Virtue and Piety, such an Administration must needs have a mighty Influence on the Faith and Morals of the whole Kingdom: And Men of great Abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the Duties of a religious Life, in order to qualify themselves for publick Service. I may possibly be wrong in some of the Means I prescribe towards this End; but that is no material Objection against the Design it self. Let those who are at the Helm, contrive it better, which perhaps they may easily do. Every Body will agree that the Disease is manifest, as well as dangerous, that some Remedy is necessary, and that none yet applied hath been effectual; which is a sufficient Excuse for any Man who wishes well to his Country, to offer his Thoughts, when he can have no other End in View but the Publick Good. The present Queen is a Prince of as many and great

great Virtues as ever filled a Throne: How would it brighten Her Character to the present and after Ages, if She would exert Her utmost Authority to instil some share of those Virtues into Her people, which they are too degenerate to learn only from Her Example. And, be it spoke with all the Veneration possible for so excellent a Sovereign, Her best Endeavours in this weighty Affair, are a most important Part of Her Duty as well as Her Interest, and Her Honour.

BUT, It must be confest, that as Things are now, every Man thinks he has laid in a sufficient Stock of Merit, and may pretend to any Employment, provided he has been loud and frequent in declaring himself hearty for the Government. 'Tis true, he is a *Man of Pleasure*, and a *Free Thinker*, that is, in other Words, he is profligate in his Morals, and a Despiser of Religion; but in Point of Party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an Asserter of Liberty and Property; he rattles it out against

Popery and arbitrary Power, and Priestcraft, and High-Church. 'Tis enough: He is a Person fully qualified for any Employment in the Court or the Navy, the Law, or the Revenue; where he will be sure to leave no Arts untried of Bribery, Fraud, Injustice, Oppression, that he can practice with any Hope of Impunity. No wonder such Men are true to a Government, where Liberty runs high, where Property *however attained*, is so well secured, and where the Administration is at least so gentle: 'Tis impossible they could chuse any other Constitution without changing to their Loss.

FIDELITY to a present Establishment is indeed the principal Means to defend it from a foreign Enemy, but without other Qualifications will not prevent Corruptions from within; and States are oftner ruined by these than the other.

T O conclude. Whether the Proposals I have offered towards a Reformation, be such as are most prudent and convenient, may probably be a Question; but it is none at all, whether some Reformation be absolutely necessary; because the Nature of Things is such, that if Abuses be not remedied, they will certainly encrease, nor ever stop till they end in the Subversion of a Commonwealth. As there must always of necessity be some Corruptions, so in a well instituted State, the executive Power will be always contending against them, by *reducing Things* (as *Machiavel* speaks) *to their first Principles*, never letting Abuses grow inveterate, or multiply so far that it will be hard to find Remedies, and perhaps impossible to apply them. As he that would keep his House in Repair, must attend every little Breach or Flaw, and supply it immediately; else Time alone will bring all to ruin, how much more the common Accidents of Storms and Rain; He must live in perpetual

Danger of his House falling about his Ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the Ground; perhaps upon a new Foundation, or at least in a new Form, which may neither be so safe nor so convenient as the old.

F I N I S.

A
MEDITATION
UPON A
Broom-Stick.

According to the Style and Manner
of the Honourable *Robert Boyle's*
Meditations.

Written *August*, 1704.

THIS single Stick, which you
now behold Ingloriously lying
in that neglected Corner, I
once knew in a Flourishing State in
a Forest, it was full of Sap, full of
Leaves, and full of Boughs; but
now, in vain does the busie Art of
Man pretend to Vye with Nature,
by tying that withered Bundle of
Q 4 Twigs

Twigs to its sapless Trunk ; 'tis now
at best but the Reverse of what it
was, a Tree turned upside down, the
Branches on the Earth, and the Root
in the Air ; 'tis now handled by eve-
ry Dirty Wench, condemned to doe
her Drudgery, and by a Capricious
kind of Fate, destined to make other
Things Clean, and be Nasty it self:
At Length, worn to the Stumps in
the Service of the Maids, 'tis either
thrown out of Doors, or condem-
ned to its last use of kindling a
Fire. When I beheld this, I sigh'd,
and said within my self, Surely
Mortal Man is a Broom-Stick ;
Nature sent him into the World
Strong and Lusty, in a Thriving Con-
dition, wearing his own Hair on his
Head, the proper Branches of this
Reasoning Vegetable, till the Axe of
Intemperance has lopt off his Green
Boughs, and left him a withered
Trunk : He then flies to Art, and
puts on a *Perewig*, valuing himself
upon an Unnatural Bundle of Hairs,
all covered with Powder, that never
grew on his Head ; but now should
this

this our *Broom-Stick* pretend to enter the Scene, proud of those *Birchen* Spoils it never bore, and all covered with Dust, though the Sweepings of the Finest Lady's Chamber, we should be apt to Ridicule and Despise its Vanity; Partial Judges that we are of Our own Excellencies, and other Men's Defaults!

BUT a *Broom-Stick*, perhaps you will say, is an Emblem of a Tree standing on its Head; and pray what is Man, but a Topsy-turvey Creature, his Animal Faculties perpetually mounted on his Rational; His Head where his Heels should be, groveling on the Earth, and yet with all his Faults, he sets up to be an universal Reformer and Corrector of Abuses, a Remover of Grievances, rakes into every Sluts Corner of Nature, bringing hidden Corruptions to the Light, and raises a mighty Dust where there was none before, sharing deeply all the while, in the very same Pollutions he pretends to sweep away: His last Days
are

are spent in Slavery to Women, and generally the least deserving; till worn to the Stumps, like his Brother *Bezom*, he is either kickt out of Doors, or made use of to kindle Flames, for others to warm themselves by.

F I N I S,

Various Thoughts, Moral and Diverting.

Written October the 1st. 1706.

WE have just enough Religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

REFLECT on Things past, as Wars, Negotiations, Factions, &c. We enter so little into those Interests, that we wonder how Men could possibly be so busy and concerned for things so Transitory; look on the present Times, we find the same Humor, yet wonder not at all.

A Wise Man endeavours by considering all Circumstances to make Con-

Conjectures, and form Conclusions, but the smallest Accident intervening (and in the Course of Affairs it is impossible to foresee all) does often produce such Turns and Changes, that at last he is just as much in doubt of Events, as the most ignorant and unexperienced Person.

POSITIVENESS is a good Quality for Preachers and Orators, because he that would obtrude his Thoughts and Reasons upon a Multitude, will convince others the more as he appears convinced himself.

HOW is it possible to expect that Mankind will take Advice, when they will not so much as take Warning.

I forget whether Advice be among the lost Things which *Ariosto* says are to be found in the Moon, that and Time ought to have been there.

N O Preacher is listned to but Time, which gives us the same Train and Turn of Thought that elder People have.

have tried in vain to put into our Heads before.

WHEN we desire or solicit any Thing, our Minds run wholly on the good side or Circumstances of it, when 'tis obtained, our Minds run only on the bad ones.

IN a *Glass-House*, the Workmen often fling in a small quantity of fresh Coals, which seems to disturb the Fire, but very much enlivens it. This seems to allude to a gentle stirring of the Passions that the Mind may not languish.

RELIGION seems to have grown an Infant with Age, and requires miracles to nurse it, as it had in its Infancy.

ALL Fits of Pleasure are ballanced by an equal degree of Pain or Languor, 'tis like Spending this Year, part of the next Years Revenue.

THE latter Part of a Wise Mans Life is taken up in curing the Follies, Preju:

Prejudices and false Opinions he had contracted in the former.

WOULD a Writer know how to behave himself with relation to Posterity, let him consider in old Books, what he finds that he is glad to know, and what Omissions he most laments.

WHATEVER the Poets pretend, 'tis plain they give Immortality to none but themselves; 'Tis *Homer* and *Virgil* we reverence and admire, not *Achilles* or *Eneas*. With Historians it is quite the Contrary, our Thoughts are taken up with the Actions, Persons, and Events we Read, and we little regard the Authors.

WHEN a true Genius appears in the World, you may know him by this Sign, that the Dunces are all in Confederacy against him.

MEN who possess all the Advantages of Life, are in a State where there are many Accidents to disorder, and discompose, but few to please them.

'TIS

TIS unwise to punish Cowards with Ignominy, for if they had regarded that, they would not have been Cowards: Death is their proper Punishment, because they fear it most.

THE greatest Inventions were produced in the Times of Ignorance, as the Use of the *Compass*, *Gunpowder* and *Printing*, and by the dullest Nation, as the *Germans*.

ONE Argument to prove that the common Relations of *Ghosts* and *Spectres* are generally False, may be drawn from the Opinion held that Spirits are never seen by more than one Person at a time, that is to say, it seldom happens to above one Person in a Company to be possess'd with any high degree of Spleen or Melancholly.

I am apt to think, that in the Day of Judgment, there will be small Allowance given to the Wise for their want of Morals, nor to the Ignorant for their want of Faith, because both
are

are without Excuse. This renders the Advantages equal of Ignorance and Knowledge. But, some Scruples in the Wise, and some Vices in the Ignorant will perhaps be forgiven upon the strength of Temptation to each.

THE Value of several Circumstances in Story lessens very much by distance of Time, tho' some minute Circumstances are very valuable, and it requires great Judgment in a Writer to distinguish.

'TIS grown a Word of Course for Writers to say, This Critical Age, as Divines say, This Sinful Age.

'TIS pleasant to observe how free the Present Age is in laying Taxes on the Next. *Future Ages shall talk of this; This shall be famous to all Posterity;* whereas their Time and Thoughts will be taken up about present Things, as ours are now.

THE

THE *Camelion* who is said to Feed upon nothing but Air, hath of all Animals the nimblest Tongue.

WHEN a Man is made a Spiritual Peer, he loses his Surname; when a Temporal his Christian Name.

IT is in Disputes as in Armies, where the weaker side sets up false Lights, and makes a great Noise to make the Enemy believe them more Numerous and Strong than they really are.

SOME Men under the Notions of weeding out Prejudices, Eradicate Virtue, Honesty and Religion.

IN all well instituted Commonwealths, care has been taken to limit Men's Possessions; which is done for many Reasons, and among the rest, for one which perhaps is not often considered; That when Bounds are set to Men's desires, after they have acquired as much as the Laws will permit them, their private Interest is
R at

at an end, and they have nothing to do but to take Care of the Publick.

T H E R E are but Three ways for a Man to revenge himself of the Censure of the World, to despise it, to return the like, or to endeavour to Live so as to avoid it. The First of these is usually pretended, the Last is almost impossible, the universal Practice is for the Second.

H E R O D O T U S tells, us that in Cold Countries Beasts very seldom have Horns, but in Hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleasant Application.

I never heard a finer Piece of Satyr against *Lawyers*, than that of *Astrologers*, when they pretend by Rules of Art to tell when a Suit will end, and whither to the Advantage of the Plantif or Defendant: thus making the Matter depend entirely upon the Influence of the Stars, without the least Regard to the Merits of the Cause.

T H E

THE Expression in *Apocryphe* about *Tobit* and his Dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed; yet *Homer* has the same Words of *Telemachus* more than once, and *Virgil* says something like it of *Evander*. And I take the Book of *Tobit* to be partly Poetical.

I have known some Men possessed of good Qualities, which were very Serviceable to others, but useless to themselves; like a Sundial on the Front of a House, to inform the Neighbours and Passengers, but not the Owner within.

IF a Man would register all his Opinions upon Love, Politicks, Religion, Learning, &c. beginning from his Youth, and so go on to Old Age, what a Bundle of Inconsistences and Contradictions would appear at last.

WHAT they do in Heaven, we are ignorant; what they do not, we are told expressly, That they neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage.

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WHEN

WHEN a Man observes the Choice of Ladies now a-days in the dispensing of their Favours, can he forbear paying some Veneration to the Memory of those Mares mentioned by *De re eque-* *Xenophon*, who while their Mains *fri.* were on, that is, while they were in their Beauty, would never admit the Embraces of an Ass.

'TIS a miserable thing to live in Suspence, it is the Life of a Spider. *Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba dixit.* Ovid. *Metam.*

THE Stoical Scheme of Supplying our Wants by lopping off our Desires, is like cutting off our Feet when we want Shoes.

PHYSICIANS ought not to give their Judgment of Religion, for the same Reason that Butchers are not admitted to be Jurors upon Life and Death.

THE Reason why so few Marriages are Happy, is because Young Ladies

Ladies spend their Time in making Nets, not in making Cages.

IF a Man will observe as he walks the Streets, I believe he will find the Merriest Countenances in Mourning Coaches.

NOTHING more unqualifies a Man to act with Prudence, than a Misfortune that is attended with Shame and Guilt.

THE Power of Fortune is confessed only by the Miserable; for the Happy impute all their Success to Prudence or Merit.

AMBITION often puts Men upon doing the meanest Offices; so Climbing is performed in the same Posture with Creeping.

ILL Company is like a Dog, who Dirts those most whom he Loves best.

CENSURE is the Tax a Man pays to the Publick for being eminent.

F I N I S.

Journal and Proceedings

of the

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A
Critical Essay
 UPON THE
 Faculties of the Mind.

August the 6th. 1707.

To -----

S I R,

B EING so great a Lover of Antiquities, it was reasonable to suppose you would be very much obliged with any thing that was New. I have been of late offended with many Writers of Essays and Moral Discourses, for running into State Topicks and Threadbare Quotations, and not handling

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*dling their Subject fully and closely :
All which Errors I have carefully a-
voided in the following Essay, which
I have proposed as a Pattern for Young
Writers to imitate. The Thoughts and
Observations being entirely New. The
Quotations untaught by others, the Sub-
ject of mighty Importance, and treated
with much Order and Perspicuity. It
has cost me a great deal of Time, and
I desire you will accept and consider
it as the utmost Effort of my Genius.*

A

Trritical Essay, &c.

PHILOSOPHERS say that Man is a Microcosm or little World, resembling in Miniature every part of the great; And in my Opinion the Body Natural may be compared to the Body Politick: And if this be so, how can the *Epicureans* Opinion be true, that the Universe was formed by a fortuitous concourse of Atoms, which I will no more believe, then that the accidental jumbling of the Letters in the Alphabet would fall by chance into a most ingenious and learned Treatise of Philosophy, *Risum teneatis amici.* Hor. This false Opinion must needs create many more; 'tis like an Error in the First Concoction, which cannot be Corrected in the Second; the Foundation is weak, and whatever Superstructure you raise upon it must of necessity fall to the

the Ground. Thus Men are led from one Error to another, till with *Ixion* they Embrace a Cloud instead of *Juno*, or like the Dog in the Fable, lose the Substance in gapeing at the Shadow. For such Opinions cannot cohere; but like the Iron and Clay in the Toes of *Nebuchadnezar's* Image, must separate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain Author, that *Alexander* Wept because he had no more Worlds to Conquer; which he need not have done, if the fortuitous concourse of Atoms could create one; But this is an opinion fitter for that many-headed Beast the Vulgar to entertain, than for so Wise a Man as *Epicurus*; the corrupt Part of his Sect only borrowed his Name as the Monkey did the Cat's Claw to draw the Chesnut out of the Fire.

HOWEVER, the first step to the Cure is to know the Disease, and tho' Truth may be difficult to find, because as the Philosopher observes she lives in the bottom of a Well, yet we need not like Blind Men grope
in

in open Daylight. I hope I may be allowed among so many far more Learned Men to offer my Mite, since a stander by may sometimes perhaps see more of the Game than he that Plays it. But I do not think a Philosopher obliged to account for every Phænomenon in Nature, or Drown himself with *Aristotle* for not being able to solve the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide, in that fatal Sentence he past upon himself, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.*

WHEREIN he was at once the Judge and the Criminal, the Accuser and Executioner. *Socrates* on the other hand, who said he knew nothing, was pronounced by the Oracle to be the Wisest Man in the World.

BUT, to return from this Digression, I think it as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclid*, that Nature does nothing in Vain, if we were able to dive into her Secret Recesses, we should find that the smallest Blade of Grass, or most contemptible Weed, has its particular Use, but she is chiefly
admi-

admirable in her minutest Compositions, the least and most contemptible Insect most discovers the Art of Nature, if I may so call it; tho' Nature which delights in Variety, will always triumph over Art: And as the Poet observes,

*Naturam expellas furca licet, usq;
recurret.* Hor.

BUT the various Opinions of Philosophers have scattered thro' the World as many Plagues of the Mind, as *Pandora's* Box did those of the Body, only with this difference, that they have not left Hope at the Bottom. And if Truth be not fled with *Astræa*, she is certainly as hidden as the Source of *Nile*, and can be found only in *Utopia*. Not that I would reflect on those Wise Sages; which would be a sort of Ingratitude, and he that calls a Man Ungrateful, sums up all the Evil that a Man can be guilty of,

Ingratum si dixeris omnia dicis.

BUT

BUT what I blame the Philosophers for (tho' some may think it a Paradox,) is chiefly their Pride; nothing less than an *Ipse dixit*, and you must pin your Faith on their Sleeve. And tho' *Diogenes* lived in a Tub, there might be for ought I know as much Pride under his Rags, as in the fine spun Garment of the Divine *Plato*. It is reported of this *Diogenes* that when *Alexander* came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask, the *Cynick* only answered; *Take not from me what thou canst not give me, but stand from between me and the Light*; which was almost as extravagant as the Philosopher that flung his Money into the Sea, with this remarkable saying.

HOW different was this Man from the Usurer, who being told his Son would Spend all he had Got, replied, *He cannot take more Pleasure in Spending than I did in getting it.* These Men could see the Faults of each other but not their own; those they
flung

flung into the Bag behind; *Non videmus id mantica quod in tergo est.* I may be perhaps censured for my free Opinions, by those carping Momus's, whom Authors Worship as the *Indians* do the Devil, for Fear. They will endeavour to give my Reputation as many Wounds as the Man in the Almanack, but I value it not, and perhaps like Flies they may buz so often about the Candle, till they burn their Wings. They must pardon me if I venture to give them this Advice, not to rail at what they cannot understand, it does but discover that self-tormenting Passion of Envy, than which the greatest Tyrant never invented a more cruel Torment.

*Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus ——— Juven.*

I must be so bold to tell my Critics and Witlings, that they are no more judges of this, than a Man that is born Blind can have any true Idea of Colours. I have always observed that your empty Vessels sound loudest:

I value

I value their Lashes as little as the Sea did when *Xerxes* Whipt it. The utmost Favour a Man can expect from them, is that which *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*, that he would Devour him the last: They think to subdue a Writer as *Cæsar* did his Enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici*. I confess I value the Opinion of the Judicious Few. A R-----r, a D-----s, or a W-----b, but for the rest, to give my Judgment at once, I think the long dispute among the Philosophers about a Vacuum, may be determin'd in the Affirmative, that it is to be found in a Critick's Head. They are at best but the Drones of the Learned World, who devour the Honey; and will not Work themselves, and a Writer need no more regard them than the Moon does the Barking of a little senseless Cur. For in spite of their terrible Roaring, you may with half an Eye discover the *Ass* under the *Lyon's* Skin.

BUT to return to our Discourse, *Demosthenes* being askt what was the First part of an Orator, replied,
Action,

Action, what was the Second, *Action*, what was the Third, *Action*, and so on *ad infinitum*. This may be true in Oratory, but Contemplation in other Things exceeds *Action*. And therefore a Wise Man is never less alone than when he is alone :

Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.

AND *Archimedes* the famous Mathematician was so intent upon his Problems, that he never minded the Soldier who came to Kill him. Therefore not to detract from the just Praise which belongs to Orators, they ought to consider that Nature which gave us Two Eyes to See, and Two Ears to Hear, has given us but One Tongue to Speak, wherein however some do so abound, that the *Virtuosi* who have been so long in search for the Perpetual Motion, may infallibly find it there.

SOME Men admire Republicks, because Orators flourish there most, and are the great Enemies of Tyranny ; But my Opinion is, that
One

One Tyrant is better than a Hundred ;
Besides these Orators enflame the People,
whose anger is really but a
short fit of Madness.

Ira furor brevis est——Hor.

AFTER which, Laws are like
Cobwebs which may catch small Flies,
but let Wasps and Hornets break
through. But in Oratory the greatest
Art is to hide Art.

Artis est celare Artem.

BUT this must be the work of
Time, we must lay hold on all Opportunities,
and let slip no Occasion,
else we shall be forced to Weave Penelope's Web,
unravel in the Night
what we did in the Day. And therefore
I have observed that Time is
Painted with a Lock before, and
Bald behind, signifying thereby that
we must take Time (as we say) by
the Forelock, for when 'tis once past
there is no recalling it.

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THE

THE Mind of Man is at first (if you will pardon the Expression) like a *Tabula rasa*, or like Wax, which while it is Soft is capable of any Impression, 'till time has hardened it. And at length Death that Grim Tyrant stops us in the midst of our Career. The greatest Conquerors have at last been Conquered by Death, which spares none from the Scepter to the Spade.

Mors Omnibus Communis.

ALL Rivers go to the Sea, but none return from it. *Xerxes* Wept when he beheld his Army, to consider that in less than a Hundred Years they would be all Dead. *Anacreon* was Choakt with a Grape-stone, and violent Joy Kills as well as violent Grief. There is nothing in this World constant but Inconstancy; yet *Plato* thought that if Virtue would appear to the World in her own native Dress, all Men would be Enamoured with her. But now since Interest governs the World, and Men neglect the
Golden

Golden Mean, *Jupiter* himself, if he came on the Earth would be Despised, unless it were as he did to *Danae* in a Golden Shower. For Men now adays Worship the Rising Sun, and not the Setting.

Donec eris fœlix multos numerabis amicos.

THUS have I in obedience to your Commands, ventured to expose my self to Censure in this Critical Age. Whether I have done right to my Subject, must be left to the Judgment of the Learned Reader: However I cannot but hope that my attempting of it may be an Encouragement for some able Pen to perform it with more Success.

F I N I S.

PREDICTIONS

FOR THE

YEAR 1708.

Wherein the Month and Day of the Month are set down, the Persons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particularly related, as they will come to pass.

Written to prevent the People of England from being farther impos'd on by vulgar Almanack-makers.

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF Esq;

I HAVING long considered the gross Abuse of Astrology in this Kingdom, and upon debating the Matter with my self, I could not possibly lay the Fault upon the Art,

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but

but upon those gross Impostors who set up to be the Artists. I know several learned Men have contended that the whole is a Cheat; that it is absurd and ridiculous to imagine, the Stars can have any Influence at all upon humane Actions, Thoughts or Inclinations: And whoever has not bent his Studies that way, may be excused for thinking so, when he sees in how wretched a manner that noble Art is treated by a few mean illiterate Traders between us and the Stars; who import a yearly Stock of Nonsense, Lies, Folly and Impertinence, which they offer to the World as genuine from the Planets, tho' they descend from no greater a Height than their own Brains.

I intend in a short Time to publish a large and rational Defence of this Art, and therefore shall say no more in its Justification at present, than that it hath been in all Ages defended by many learned Men, and among the rest by *Socrates* himself, whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wisest of uninspired Mortals: to which if

we

we add, that those who have condemned this Art, tho' otherwise Learned, having been such as either did not apply their Studies this Way, or at least did not succeed in their Applications: Their Testimony will not be of much weight to its Disadvantage, since they are liable to the the common Objection of condemning what they did not understand.

NOR am I at all offended, or think it an Injury to the Art, when I see the common Dealers in it, the *Students in Astrology*, the *Philomaths*, and the rest of that Tribe, treated by wise Men with the utmost Scorn and Contempt; but rather wonder, when I observe Gentlemen in the Country, rich enough to serve the Nation in Parliament, poring in *Partridge's Almanack*, to find out the Events of the Year at Home and Abroad; not daring to propose a Hunting Match, till *Gadbury* or he have fixt the Weather.

I will allow either of the Two I have mention'd, or any other of the
 S 4 Frater-

Fraternity, to be not only Astrologers, but Conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred Instances in all their Almanacks, to convince any reasonable Man, that they do not so much as understand common Grammar and Syntax; that they are not able to spell any Word out of the usual Road, nor even in their Prefaces write common Sense or intelligible *English*. Then for their Observations and Predictions, they are such as will equally suit any Age or Country in the World. *This Month a certain great Person will be threatned with Death or Sicknes.* This the News Paper will tell them, for there we find at the End of the Year, that no Month passes without the Death of some Person of Note; and it would be hard if it should be otherwise, when there are at least Two thousand Persons of Note in this Kingdom, many of them old, and the Almanack-maker has the liberty of chusing the sickliest Season of the Year where he may fix his Prediction. Again, *This Month an eminent Clergyman will be preferr'd*; of which there may be some Hundreds, half of them

them with one Foot in the Grave. Then, *Such a Planet in such a House shews great Machinations, Plots and Conspiracies, that may in time be brought to Light*: After which, if we hear of any Discovery, the Astrologer gets the Honour, if not, his Prediction still stands good. And at last, God preserve K. William from all his open and secret Enemies. Amen. When, if the King should happen to have died, the Astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes but for the pious Ejaculation of a Loyal Subject: Tho' it unluckily happened in some of their Almanacks, that poor K. William was pray'd for many Months after he was dead, because it fell out that he died about the beginning of the Year.

T O mention no more of their impertinent Predictions; What have we to do with their Advertisements about *Pills and Drinks for the Venereal Disease*, or their mutual Quarrels in Verse and Prose of *Whig and Tory*, wherewith the Stars have little to do.

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HAVING long observed and lamented these, and a hundred other Abuses of this Art, too tedious to repeat, I resolved to proceed in a new Way, which I doubt not will be to the general Satisfaction of the Kingdom: I can this Year produce but a Specimen of what I design for the future: Having employ'd most part of my time in adjusting and correcting the Calculations I made for some Years past, because I would offer nothing to the World of which I am not as fully satisfied, as that I am now alive. For these two last Years I have not failed in above one or two Particulars; and those of no very great Moment. I exactly foretold the Miscarriage at *Toulon*, with all its Particulars; and the loss of Admiral *Shovell*, tho' I was mistaken as to the Day, placing that Accident about 36 Hours sooner than it happen'd; but upon reviewing my Schemes, I quickly found the Cause of that Error. I likewise foretold the Battle at *Almanza* to the very Day and Hour, with the Loss on both Sides, and the

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Consequences thereof. All which I shewed to some Friends many Months before they happened. That is, I gave them Papers sealed up, to open in such a Time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my Predictions true in every Article, except one or two very minute.

AS for the few following Predictions I now offer the World, I forbore to publish them till I had perused the several Almanacks for the Year we are now entred on. I find them all in the usual Strain, and I beg the Reader will compare their Manner with mine: And here I make bold to tell the World, that I lay the whole Credit of my Art upon the Truth of these Predictions; And I will be content, that *Partridge*, and the rest of his Clan, may hoot me for a Cheat and Impostor, if I fail in any single Particular of Moment. I believe, any Man who reads this Paper will look upon me to be at least a Person of as much Honesty and Understanding, as a common Maker of Almanacks. I do not lurk
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in the Dark; I am not wholly unknown in the World; I have set my Name at length, to be a Mark of Infamy to Mankind if they shall find I deceive them.

IN one Thing I must desire to be forgiven, that I talk more sparingly of Home Affairs; As it would be Imprudence to discover Secrets of State, so it would be dangerous to my Person, but in smaller Matters, and that are not of publick Consequence, I shall be very free; and the Truth of my Conjectures will as much appear from these as the other. As for the most signal Events abroad in *France, Flanders, Italy and Spain*, I shall make no Scruple to Predict them in plain Terms: Some of them are of Importance, and I hope I shall seldom mistake the Day they will happen; therefore I think good to inform the Reader, that I all along make use of the *Old Style* observed in *England*, which I desire he will compare with that of the News-Papers, at the time they relate the Actions I mention.

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I must add one Word more; I know it hath been the Opinion of several Learned, who think well enough of the true Art of Astrology, That the Stars do only *incline*, and not *force*, the Actions or Wills of Men: And therefore, however, I may proceed by right Rules, yet I cannot in Prudence so confidently assure the Events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have maturely consider'd this Objection, which in some Cases is of no little Weight: For Example; A Man may by the Influence of an over-ruling Planet be disposed or inclined to Lust, Rage, or Avarice, and yet by the force of Reason overcome that bad Influence; and this was the Case of *Soarates*: But the great Events of the World usually depend upon Numbers of Men, it cannot be expected they should all unite to cross their Inclinations, from pursuing a general Design, wherein they unanimously agree. Besides, the Influence of the Stars reaches to many
 Actions

Actions and Events, which are not any way in the Power of Reason; as Sickness, Death, and what we commonly call Accidents, with many more, needless to repeat.

BUT now it is time to proceed to my Predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the *Sun* enters into *Aries*. And this I take to be properly the Beginning of the natural Year. I pursue them to the Time that he enters *Libra*, or somewhat more, which is the busy Period of the Year. The Remainder I have not yet adjusted, upon Account of several Impediments needless here to mention: Besides, I must remind the Reader again, that this is but a Specimen of what I design in succeeding Years to treat more at large, if I may have Liberty and Encouragement.

MY first Prediction is but a Trifle, yet I will mention it, to shew how ignorant these Sottish Pretenders to Astrology are in their own Concerns: It relates to *Partridge* the Almanack-maker;

maker; I have consulted the Stars of his Nativity by my own Rules, and find he will infallibly dye upon the 29th of *March* next, about Eleven at night, of a raging Feaver; therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his Affairs in time.

THE Month of *APRIL* will be observable for the Death of many great Persons. On the 4th, will dye the *Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris*: On the 11th, the young Prince of *Asturias*, Son to the Duke of *Anjou*: On the 14th, a great Peer of this Realm will dye at his Country House: On the 19th, an old *Layman* of great Fame for Learning: And on the 23d, an eminent Goldsmith in *Lombard Street*. I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not consider it is of very little Use or Instruction to the Reader, or to the World.

AS to Publick Affairs: On the 7th of this Month, there will be an Insurrection in *Dauphine*, occasion'd by the Oppressions of the People, which

which will not be quieted in some Months.

ON the 15th, will be a violent Storm on the South-East Coast of *France*, which will destroy many of their Ships, and some in the very Harbour.

THE 19th, will be famous for the Revolt of a whole Province or Kingdom, excepting one City, by which the Affairs of a certain Prince in the Alliance will take a better Face.

MAY, against common Conjectures, will be no very busy Month in *Europe*, but very signal for the Death of the *Dauphin*, which will happen on the 7th, after a short Sickness, and grievous Torments with the Strangury. He dies less lamented by the Court, than the Kingdom.

ON the 9th, a *Mareschal* of *France* will break his Leg by a Fall from his Horse. I have not been able to discover whether he will then dye or not.

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ON the 11th, will begin a most important Siege, which the Eyes of all *Europe* will be upon: I cannot be more Particular, for in relating Affairs that so nearly concern the *Confederates*, and consequently this Kingdom, I am forc'd to confine my self, for several Reasons very obvious to the Reader.

ON the 15th, News will arrive of a very *Surprizing Event*, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

ON the 19th, three Noble Ladies of this Kingdom will, against all Expectation, prove with Child, to the great Joy of their Husbands.

ON the 23d, a famous Buffon of the Play-house will dye a ridiculous Death suitable to his Vocation.

JUNE. This Month will be distinguish'd at home by the utter dispersing of those ridiculous deluded Enthusiasts, commonly call'd the *Pro-*

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phets ;

phets; occasion'd chiefly by seeing the Time come that many of their Prophecies should be fulfill'd, and then finding themselves deceiv'd by contrary Events. It is indeed to be admir'd how any Deceiver can be so weak to foretel Things near at hand, when a very few Months must of necessity discover the Imposture to all the World; in this Point less prudent than common Almanack-makers, who are so wise to wander in generals and walk dubiously, and leave to the Reader the Business of interpreting.

ON the 1st of this Month, a *French* General will be kill'd by a random Shot of a Cannon Ball.

ON the 6th, a Fire will break out in the Suburbs of *Paris*, which will destroy above a Thousand Houses; and seems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the Surprise of all *Europe*, about the end of the following Month.

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ON the 10th, a great Battle will be fought, which will begin at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and last till Nine at Night with great Obstinacy, but no very decisive Event. I shall not name the Place, for the Reasons aforesaid; but the Commanders on each Left Wing will be killed. ----- I see Bonfires, and hear the Noise of Guns for a Victory.

ON the 14th, there will be a false Report of the *French King's* Death.

ON the 20th, Cardinal Portocarrero will dye of a Dissentery, with great Suspicion of Poison; but the Report of his Intentions to revolt to King *Charles*, will prove false.

JULY. The 6th of this Month, a certain General will, by a Glorious Action, recover the Reputation he lost by former Misfortunes.

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ON the 12th, a *Great Commander* will dye a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies.

ON the 14th, a shameful Discovery will be made, of a *French Jesuit* giving Poison to a great Foreign General, and when he is put to the Torture, will make wonderful Discoveries.

IN short, this will prove a Month of great Action, if I might have Liberty to relate the Particulars.

AT home, the Death of an old famous Senator will happen on the 15th at his Country House, worn with Age and Diseases.

BUT that which will make this Month memorable to all Posterity, is the Death of the *French King Lewis* the Fourteenth, after a Weeks Sickness at *Marli*, which will happen on the 29th, about Six a Clock in the Evening. It seems to be an Effect of the Gout in his Stomach, follow'd

low'd by a Flux. And in Three Days after Monsieur *Chamillard* will follow his Master, dying suddenly of an Apoplexy.

IN this Month likewise an *Ambassador* will dye in *London*, but I cannot assign the Day.

AUGUST. The Affairs of *France* will seem to suffer no Change for a while under the Duke of *Burgundy's* Administration; but the Genius that animated the whole Machine being gone, will be the Cause of mighty Turns and Revolutions in the following Year. The new King makes yet little Change either in the Army or the Ministry, but the Libels against his Grandfather that fly about his very Court, give him uneasiness.

I see an Express in mighty haste, with Joy and Wonder in his Looks, arriving by break of Day on the 26th, of this Month, having travel'd in Three Days a prodigious Journey by Land and Sea. In the Evening I hear Bells and Guns,

and see the Blazing of a Thousand Bonfires.

A Young Admiral of noble Birth does likewise this Month gain immortal Honour by a great Atchievement.

THE Affairs of *Poland* are this Month entirely settl'd: *Augustus* resigns his Pretensions, which he had again taken up for some time: *Stanislaus* is peaceably possess'd of the Throne: And the King of *Sweden* declares for the Emperor.

I cannot omit one particular Accident here at home, that near the End of this Month much Mischief will be done at *Bartholomew* Fair by the Fall of a Booth.

SEPTEMBER. This Month begins with a very surprizing Fit of Frosty Weather, which will last near 12 Days.

THE Pope having long languished last Month, the Swellings in his Legs breaking, and the Flesh Mortifying

tifying, will dye on the 11th Instant, and in three Weeks time, after a mighty Contest, be succeeded by a Cardinal of the *Imperial* Faction, but Native of *Tuscany*, who is now about 61 Years old.

THE *French* Army Acts now wholly on the Defensive, strongly fortified in their Trenches; and the young *French* King sends Overtures for a Treaty of Peace, by the Duke of *Mantua*; which, because it is a matter of State that concerns us here at home, I shall speak no farther of it.

I shall add but one Prediction more, and that in Mystical Terms, which shall be included in a Verse out of *Virgil*.

*Alter erit jam Tethys, & altera quæ
vehat Argo
Dilectos Heroas.*

UPON the 25th Day of this Month, the fulfilling of this Prediction will be manifest to every Body.

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THIS is the farthest I have proceeded in my Calculations for the present Year. I do not pretend, that these are all the great Events which will happen in this Period, but that those I have set down will infallibly come to pass. It will perhaps still be objected, why I have not spoke more particularly of Affairs at home, or of the Success of our Armies abroad, which I might and could very largely have done; but those in Power have wisely discourag'd Men from meddling in Publick Concerns, and I was resolv'd by no means to give the least Offence. This I will venture to say, That it will be a Glorious Campaign for the *Allies*, wherein the *English* Forces, both by Sea and Land, will have their full Share of Honour; That Her Majesty Queen A N N E will continue in Health and Prosperity; And, That no ill Accident will arrive to any in the Chief Ministry.

AS to the particular Events I have mention'd, the Readers may judge by
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the fulfilling of 'em, whether I am
 of the Level with common Astrolo-
 gers; who, with an old paultry Cant,
 and a few Pot-hooks for Planets to
 amuse the Vulgar, have in my Opi-
 nion, too long been suffer'd to abuse
 the World: But an honest Physitian
 ought not to be despis'd, because there
 are such Things as Mountebanks. I
 hope I have some share of Reputa-
 tion, which I would not willingly
 forfeit for a Frolick or Humour; And
 I believe no Gentleman, who reads
 this Paper, will look upon it to be
 of the same Cast or Mould with the
 common Scribblers that are every Day
 hawk'd about. My Fortune has plac'd
 me above the little Regard of Scrib-
 bling for a few Pence, which I nei-
 ther value nor want: Therefore let
 not wise Men too hastily condemn
 this Essay, intended for a good De-
 sign to cultivate and improve an an-
 cient Art, long in Disgrace by having
 fallen into mean unskilful Hands. A
 little Time will determine, whether
 I have deceiv'd others, or my self;
 and I think it is no very unreasonable
 Request, that Men would please to
 suspend

suspend their Judgments till then. I was once of the Opinion with those who despise all Predictions from the Stars, till in the Year 1686, a Man of Quality shew'd me written in his *Album*, That the most learned Astronomer Captain *H.* assur'd him, He would never believe any thing of the Stars influence, if there were not a great Revolution in *England* in the Year 1688. Since that Time I began to have other Thoughts, and after eighteen Years diligent Study and Application, I think I have no reason to repent of my Pains. I shall detain the Reader no longer than to let him know, that the Account I design to give of next Years Events shall take in the principal Affairs that happen in *Europe*; and if I be denied the Liberty of offering it to my own Country, I shall appeal to the Learn'd World, by publishing it in *Latin*, and giving order to have it printed in *Holland*.

F I N I S.

THE
ACCOMPLISHMENT

Of the First of

Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions.

Being an

ACCOUNT

Of the Death of

Mr. *PARTRIGE*, the Almanack-maker.

Upon the 29th Instant.

In a Letter to a Person of Honour.

Written in the Year, 1708.

My LORD,

IN Obedience to your Lordship's
Commands, as well as to satisfy
my own Curiosity, I have for
some Days past enquired constantly
after *Partridge*, the Almanack-maker,
of whom it was foretold in *Mr. Bicker-*
staff's

Staff's Predictions, publish'd about a Month ago, that he should die the 29th Instant about 11 at Night, of a Raging Fever. I had some sort of Knowledge of him when I was employ'd in the Revenue, because he used every Year to present me with his Almanack, as he did other Gentlemen, upon the Score of some little Gratuity we gave him: I saw him accidentally once or twice about 10 Days before he died, and observed he began very much to Droop and Languish, tho' I hear his Friends did not seem to apprehend him in any Danger. About Two or Three Days ago he grew Ill, was confin'd first to his Chamber, and in a few Hours after to his Bed, where Dr. *Cafe* and Mrs. *Kirleus* were sent for to Visit and to Prescribe to him. Upon this Intelligence I sent thrice every Day one Servant or other to enquire after his Health; and yesterday, about Four in the Afternoon, Word was brought me that he was past Hopes; upon which I prevailed with my self to go and see him, partly out of Commiseration, and, I confess,

fels, partly out of Curiosity. He knew me very well, seem'd surprized at my Condescension, and made me Compliments upon it as well as he could in the Condition he was. The People about him said he had been for some Hours delirious; but when I saw him he had his Understanding as well as ever I knew, and spoke Strong and Hearty, without any seeming Uneasiness or Constraint. After I had told him how sorry I was to see him in those Melancholy Circumstances, and said some other Civilities, suitable to the Occasion, I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously whether the Predictions Mr. *Bickerstaff* had publish'd relating to his Death had not too much affected and work'd on his Imagination. He confess'd he had often had it in his Head, but never with much Apprehension till about a Fortnight before; since which Time it had the perpetual Possession of his Mind and Thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true Natural Cause of his present Distemper: For, said he, I am thoroughly perswaded, and I think I have
very

very good Reasons, that Mr. *Bickerstaff* spoke altogether by Guess, and knew no more what will happen this Year than I did my self. I told him his Discourse surprized me, and I would be glad he were in a State of Health to be able to tell me what Reason he had to be convinced of Mr. *Bickerstaff's* Ignorance. He reply'd, I am a poor Ignorant Fellow, Bred to a Mean Trade, yet I have Sense enough to know that all Pretences of foretelling by Astrology are Deceits, for this manifest Reason, because the Wise and the Learned, who can only know whether there be any Truth in this Science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it; and none but the Poor, Ignorant, Vulgar, give it any Credit, and that only upon the Word of such silly Wretches as I and my Fellows, who can hardly Write or Read. I then ask'd him why he had not Calculated his own Nativity, to see whether it agreed with *Bickerstaff's* Prediction? At which he shook his Head, and said, O! Sir, this is no Time for Jestings, but for Repenting those
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Fooleries, as I do now from the very Bottom of my Heart. By what I can gather from you, said I, the Observations and Predictions you printed with your Almanacks were meer Impositions upon the People. He reply'd, If it were otherwise I should have the less to answer for. We have a Common Form for all those Things; as to foretelling the Weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the Printer, who takes it out of any Old Almanack as he thinks fit; the rest was my own Invention, to make my Almanack Sell, having a Wife to Maintain, and no other way to get my Bread, for mending Old Shoes is a Poor Livelihood: And (added he, sighing,) I wish I may not have done more Mischief by my Physick than my Astrology, tho' I had some good Receipts from my Grandmother, and my own Compositions were such as I thought could at least do no Hurt.

I had some other Discourses with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired
your

your Lordship. I shall only add One Circumstance, that on his Death-bed he declar'd himself a Nonconformist, and had a Fanatick Preacher to be his Spiritual Guide. After Half an Hour's Conversation I took my Leave, being half stifled by the Closeness of the Room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little Coffee-house hard by, leaving a Servant at the House with orders to come immediately, and tell me as near as he could the Minute when *Partridge* should expire, which was not above Two Hours after; when looking upon my Watch, I found it to be above Five Minutes after Seven; by which it is clear that Mr. *Bickerstaff* was mistaken almost Four Hours in his Calculation. In the other Circumstances he was exact enough; but whether he has not been the Cause of this Poor Man's Death, as well as the Predictor, may be very reasonably disputed. However, it must be confess'd the Matter is odd enough, whether we should endeavour to account for it by Chance, or the Effect of Imagination: For
my

Partridge's Death. 289

my own Part, tho' I believe no Man has less Faith in these matters, yet I shall wait with some Impatience, and not without Expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. *Bickerstaff's* Second Prediction, That the Cardinal *De Noailles* is to die upon the 4th of *April*; and if that should be verified as exactly as this of Poor *Partridge*, I must own I should be wholly surprized, and at a loss, and should infallibly expect the Accomplishment of all the rest.

F I N I S.

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A
VINDICATION
O F

Isaac Bickerstaff Esq;

A G A I N S T

What is Objected to Him by Mr. *Partridge*, in his Almanack for the present Year, 1709.

By the said ISAAC BICKERSTAFF *Esq;*

Written in the Year 1709.

MR. *Partridge* hath been lately pleased to treat me after a very rough Manner in *that which is called*, His Almanack for the present Year: Such Usage is very undecent from *one Gentleman to another*, and does not at all contribute to the

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Discovery of Truth, which ought to be the great End in all Disputes of the *Learned*. To call a Man *Fool* and *Villain*, and *impudent Fellow*, only for differing from him in a Point meerly Speculative, is in my humble Opinion a very improper Style for a Person of *his Education*. I appeal to the *Learned World*, whether in my last Year's Predictions, I gave him the least Provocation for such unworthy Treatment. Philosophers have differed in all Ages, but the discreetest among them have always differed as became Philosophers. Scurility and Passion, in a Controversy among *Scholars*, is just so much of nothing to the purpose; and at best, a tacit Confession of a weak Cause: My Concern is not so much for my own Reputation, as that of the *Republick of Letters*, which Mr. *Partridge* hath endeavoured to wound thro' my Sides. If Men of publick Spirit must be superciliously treated for their ingenuous Attempts, how will true useful Knowledge be ever advanc'd? I wish Mr. *Partridge* knew the Thoughts which *Foreign Universities*

fities have conceived of his ungenerous Proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his Reputation to publish them to the World. That Spirit of Envy and Pride, which blasts so many rising Genius's in our Nation, is yet unknown among *Professors* abroad; The Necessity of justifying my self, will excuse my Vanity, when I tell the Reader, that I have near a hundred *honorary* Letters from several Parts of *Europe*, (some as far as *Muscovy*) in Praise of my Performance. Besides several others which, as I have been credibly inform'd, were open'd in the Post Office, and never sent me. 'Tis true, the *Inquisition* in *Portugal* was pleased to burn my Predictions, and condemn the Author and Readers of them; but I hope at the same time, it will be consider'd in how deplorable a State *Learning* lies at present in that Kingdom: And with the profoundest Veneration for *Crown'd Heads*, I will presume to add, that it a little concerned *his Majesty* of *Portugal*, to interpose his Authority in behalf of a *Scholar* and a *Gentleman*, the Subject

of a Nation with which he is now in so strict an Alliance. But the other Kingdoms and States of *Europe* have treated me with more Candor and Generosity. If I had Leave to print the *Latin* Letters transmitted to me from Foreign Parts, they would fill a Volume, and be a full Defence against all that Mr. *Partridge*, or his Accomplices of the *Portugal Inquisition*, will be ever able to Object; who, by the Way, are the only Enemies my Predictions have ever met with at Home or Abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the Honour of a *learned Correspondence*, in so tender a Point. Yet some of those illustrious Persons will perhaps excuse me for transcribing a Passage or two in my own Vindication. The most Learned Monsieur *Leibnitz* thus addresses to me his Third Letter: *Illustrissimo Bickerstaffio Astrologiae instauratori, &c.* Monsieur *le Clerc* quoting my Predictions in a Treatise he published last Year, is pleased to say, *Ita nuperime Bickerstaffius magnum illud Angliæ sidus.* Another great Professor writing of me, has these Words:
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Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; 295

Bickerstaffius, nobilis Anglus, Astrologorum hujusce Seculi facile Princeps. Signior Magliabecchi, the Great Duke's famous Library-Keeper, spends almost his whole Letter in Compliments and Praises. 'Tis true, the renowned Professor of Astronomy at Utrecht, seems to differ from me in one Article; but it is after the modest manner that becomes a Philosopher; as, Pace tanti viri dixerim: And, Pag. 55. he seems to lay the Error upon the Printer, '(as indeed it ought) and says, Vel forsam error Typographi, cum alioquin Bickerstaffius vir doctissimus, &c.

IF Mr. Partrige had followed this Example in the Controversy between us, he might have spared me the Trouble of justifying my self in so publick a Manner. I believe few Men are readier to own their Errors, than I, or more thankful to those who will please to inform him of them. But it seems, this Gentleman, instead of encouraging the Progress of his own Art, is pleased to look upon all Attempts of that Kind as an Invasion of his Province. He has been

indeed so wise, to make no Objection against the Truth of my Predictions, except in one single Point, relating to himself: And to demonstrate how much Men are Blinded by their own Partiality, I do solemnly assure the Reader, that he is the only Person from whom I ever heard that Objection offer'd; which Consideration alone, I think will take off all its Weight.

WITH my utmost Endeavours, I have not been able to trace above Two Objections ever made against the Truth of my last Year's Prophecies: The First was of a *French* Man, who was pleased to publish to the World, That *the Cardinal de Noailles was still alive, notwithstanding the pretended Prophecy of Monsieur Biquersstaffe*: But how far a *Frenchman*, a *Papist*, and an *Enemy*, is to be believed in his own Case, against an *English Protestant*, who is true to the *Government*, I shall leave to the candid and impartial Reader.

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THE other Objection is the unhappy Occasion of this Discourse, and relates to an Article in my Predictions, which foretold the Death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29, 1708. This he is pleased to contradict absolutely in the Almanack he has publish'd for the present Year, and in that ungentlemanly Manner, (pardon the Expression) as I have above related. In that Work, he very roundly asserts, That he *is not only now alive, but was likewise alive upon that very 29th of March, when I had foretold he should die.* This is the Subject of the present Controversie between us; which I design to handle with all Brevity, Perspicuity and Calmness: In this Dispute, I am sensible, the Eyes not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*, will be upon us: And the *Learned* in every Country will, I doubt not, take Part on that Side where they find most Appearance of Reason and Truth.

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WITHOUT entering into Criticisms of *Chronology* about the Hour of his Death, I shall only prove, that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my First Argument is thus: Above a Thousand Gentlemen having bought his Almanack for this Year, meerly to find what he said against me; at every Line they read, they would lift up their Eyes, and cry out, betwixt Rage and Laughter, *They were sure no Man alive ever writ such damn'd Stuff as this.* Neither did I ever hear that Opinion disputed. So that Mr. Partridge lies under a *Dilemma*, either of disowning his Almanack, or allowing himself to be, *No Man alive.* But now if an *uninformed* Carcass walks still about, and is pleased to call it self *Partridge*, Mr. *Bickerstaff* does not think himself any way answerable for that. Neither had the said Carcass any Right to beat the poor Boy, who happen'd to pass by it in the Street, crying, *A full and true Account of Dr. Partridge's Death, &c.*

SECONDLY, Mr. *Partridge* pretends to tell Fortunes, and recover stolen Goods; which all the Parish says he must do by conversing with the Devil, and other evil Spirits: And no wise Man will ever allow he could converse personally with either, till after he was dead.

THIRDLY, I will plainly prove him to be dead, out of his own Almanack for this Year, and from the very Passage which he produces to make us think him alive. He there says, *He is not only now alive, but was also alive upon that very 29th of March, which I foretold he should die on*: By this, he declares his Opinion, That a Man may be alive now, who was not alive a Twelvemonth ago. And indeed, there lies the Sophistry of his Argument. He dares not assert he was alive ever since that 29th of March, but that he *is now alive, and was so on that day*: I grant the latter; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed Account of his Death, in a Letter to a Lord;
and

whether he is since revived, I leave the World to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am ashamed to dwell any longer upon it.

FOURTHLY, I will appeal to Mr. *Partridge* himself, whether it be probable I could have been so indiscreet, to begin my Predictions with the *only* Falshood that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an Affair at Home, where I had so many Opportunities to be exact; and must have given such Advantages against me to a Person of Mr. *Partridge's* Wit and Learning, who, if he could possibly have rais'd one single Objection more against the Truth of my Prophecies, would hardly have spared me.

AND here I must take Occasion to reprove the abovementioned Writer of the Relation of Mr. *Partridge's* Death, in a *Letter to a Lord*; who was pleased to tax me with a Mistake of *Four whole Hours* in my Calculation of that Event. I must confess, this Censure pronounced with an Air
of

of Certainty, in a Matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a *grave judicious Author*, moved me not a little. But tho' I was at that Time out of Town, yet several of my Friends, whose Curiosity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own Part, having no Doubt at all in the Matter, I never once thought of it) assured me I computed to something under half an Hour; which (I speak my private Opinion) is an Error of no very great Magnitude, that Men should raise Clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss, if that Author would henceforth be more tender of other Men's Reputation as well as his own. It is well there were no more Mistakes of that kind; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little Ceremony.

T H E R E is one Objection against Mr. Partridge's Death, which I have sometimes met with, tho' indeed very slightly offered; That he still continues to write Almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to
all

all of that Profession ; *Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove, Wing,* and several others, do yearly publish their Almanacks, tho' several of them have been dead since before the *Revolution*. Now the Natural Reason of this, I take to be, That whereas it is the Privilege of other Authors, *to live after their Deaths* ; Almanack-makers are alone excluded, because their Dissertations treating only upon the Minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In Consideration of which, *Time*, whose *Registers* they are, gives them a Lease in Reversion, to continue their Works after their Death.

I should not have given the Publick, or my self, the trouble of this Vindication, if my Name had not been made use of by several Persons, to whom I never lent it ; one of which, a few days ago, was pleased to father on me a new set of Predictions. But I think those are Things too Serious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the Heart, when I saw my Labours, which had cost me
so

so much Thought and Watching, bawl'd about by common Hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty Consideration of the gravest Persons. This prejudiced the World so much at first, that several of my Friends had the Assurance to ask me, Whether I were in Jest? To which I only answered coldly, *That the Event would shew*. But it is the Talent of our Age and Nation, to turn Things of the greatest Importance into Ridicule. When the End of the Year had *verified all my Predictions* out comes Mr. Partridge's Almanack, disputing the Point of his Death; so that I am employed, like the General, who was forced to kill his Enemies twice over, whom a *Necromancer* had raised to Life. If Mr. Partridge has practised the same Experiment upon himself, and be again alive, long may he continue so; that does not in the least contradict my Veracity: But I think I have clearly proved, by *invincible Demonstration*, that he died at farthest within half an Hour of the
Time

Time I foretold, and not Four Hours sooner, as the abovementioned Author in his Letter to a Lord hath Maliciously Suggested, with design to blast my Credit, by charging me with so gross a Mistake.

F I N I S.

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was
and

A
Famous Prediction
OF
MERLIN,
THE
BRITISH Wizard.

Written above a Thousand Years ago,
and relating to this Present Year,
1709.

With Explanatory Notes. By T. N. Philomath.

LAST Year was publish'd a Paper of Predictions pretended to be written by one *Isaac Bickerstaff* Esq; but the true Design of it was to Ridicule the Art of Astrology, and Expose its Professors as Ignorant,

X

or

or Impostors. Against this Imputation, Dr. Partridge hath vindicated himself in his Almanack for the Present Year.

FOR a farther Vindication of this famous Art, I have thought fit to present the World with the following Prophecy. The Original is said to be of the famous *Merlin*, who lived about a Thousand Years ago: And the following Translation is Two Hundred Years old; for it seems to be written near the End of *Henry the Seventh's* Reign. I found it in an Old Edition of *Merlin's Prophecies*; imprinted at *London* by *Johan Haukyns*, in the Year 1530. Page 39. I set it down Word for Word in the Old Orthography, and shall take Leave to subjoin a few Explanatory Notes.

Seven and Ten addyd to nyne,
Of Fraunce hir woe thys is the sygne,
Camys riverse twys y-frozen,
Walke sans wetynge Shoes ne hozen.

Then

Then comyth forth, Ich understonde,
 From Toun of Stofte to fatteryn Londe
 An herdie Chifcan, woe the moine
 To Fraunce, that evere he was boine.
 Than shall the fpythe betweyle his Bosse;
 Nor shall grin Berris make up the Losse.
 Ponge Symnele shall agayne miscarrye;
 And Norways pyrd agayne shall marrye.
 And from the Tree where Blossoms fele,
 Ripe fruit shall come, and all is wele.
 Beaums shall daunte honde in honde,
 And it shall be merye in olde Inglande.
 Then olde Inglande shall be uoe more,
 And no Man shall be soze therfore.
 Geryon shall have thre pedes agayne
 Till Wapsburge makyth them but twayne.

Explanatory Notes.

Seven and Ten. THIS Line
 describes the Year when these Events
 shall happen. Seven and Ten makes
 Seventeen, which I Explain Seven-
 X 2 teen

teen Hundred, and this Number added to Nine, makes the Year we are now in; for it must be understood of the Natural Year, which begins the First of *January*.

Campys Rivere twys, &c. THE River *Thames* frozen twice in one Year, so as Men to walk on it, is a very signal Accident; which perhaps hath not fallen out for several Hundred Years before, and is the Reason why some Astrologers have thought that this Prophecy could never be fulfilled, because they imagined such a Thing would never happen in our Climate.

From Coune of Stoffe, &c. THIS is a plain Designation of the Duke of *Marlborough*; One kind of Stuff used to fatten Land is called *Marle*; and every body knows that *Borough* is a Name for a Town; and this way of Expression is after the usual dark manner of Old Astrological Predictions.

Chan

Chan shall the Fywe, &c. BY the *Fywe* is understood the *Dolphin* of *France*, as their Kings Eldest Sons are called: 'Tis here said, he shall lament the Loss of the Duke of *Burgundy*, called the *Bosse*, which is an Old *English* Word for *Hump-Shoulder*, or *Crook-Back*, as that Duke is known to be; and the Prophecy seems to mean, that he shall be overcome or slain. By the *Green Berrys* in the next Line is meant the Young Duke of *Berry*, the *Dauphin's* Third Son, who shall not have Valour or Fortune enough to supply the Loss of his Eldest Brother.

Ponge Symnele, &c. BY *Symnel* is meant the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, who if he offers to attempt any thing against *England*, shall miscarry as he did before. *Lambert Symnel* is the Name of a Young Man noted in our Histories for Personating the Son (as I remember) of *Edward* the Fourth.

And *Norways Pyrd*, &c. I cannot guess who is meant by *Norway's Pride*, perhaps the Reader may, as well as the Sense of the Two following Lines.

• *Reaums shall*, &c. *REAUMS*, or, as the Word is now, *Realms*, is the Old Name for *Kingdoms*: And this is a very plain Prediction of our Happy *Union*, with the Felicities that shall attend it. It is added, That *Old England* shall be no more, and yet no Man shall be sorry for it. And indeed, properly speaking, *England* is now no more, for the whole Island is one Kingdom, under the Name of *Britain*.

Geryon shall, &c. *THIS* Prediction, though somewhat obscure, is wonderfully adapt. *Geryon* is said to have been a King of *Spain*, whom *Hercules* slew. It was a Fiction of the Poets, that he had Three Heads, which the Author says he shall have again. That is, *Spain* shall have Three Kings; which is now wonderfully
verify'd :

Merlin's Prophecy. 311

verify'd: For besides the King of *Portugal*, which properly is part of *Spain*, there are now Two Rivals for *Spain*; *Charles* and *Philip*. But *Charles* being descended from the Count of *Hapsburgh*, Founder of the *Austrian* Family, shall soon make those Heads but Two; by Overcoming *Philip*, and Driving him out of *Spain*.

SOME of these Predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the rest may be in due time: And, I think, I have not forced the Words by my Explication into any other Sense than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am sure it must be also allow'd, that the Author, whoever he were, was a Person of extraordinary Sagacity; And that Astrology brought to such a Perfection as this, is by no means an Art to be despis'd; whatever Mr. *Bickerstaff*, or other Merry Gentlemen are pleased to think. As to the Tradition, of these Lines having been writ in the Original by *Merlin*; I confess, I lay not much Weight upon it: But it is enough

312 *Merlin's Prophecy.*

to justify their Authority, that the Book from whence I have transcrib'd them, was printed 170 Years ago, as appears by the Title-Page. For the Satisfaction of any Gentleman, who may be either Doubtful of the Truth, or Curious to be inform'd; I shall give order to have the very Book sent to the Printer of this Paper, with Directions to let any Body see it that pleases: because, I believe it is pretty scarce.

F I N I S.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE following I have to report
 by some authorities to me in
 of the same nature, and it shall be
 returned to me, it will be no longer
 owing to him to have it
 and, comparing the two, it is
 that, the former is the
 and the latter is the
 which the latter is the
 I have now placed in the
 which the former is the
 Having the latter, which is
 with the latter, which is
 taken care to send them to
 your party, and, as
 2/2/52

A. L. E.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letter is supposed by some judicious Persons to be of the same Author, and if their Conjectures be right, it will be no disadvantage to him to have it here revived, considering the Time when it was Writ, the Persons then at the Helm, and the Designs in Agitation, against which this Paper so boldly appeared. I have been assured that the Suspicion which the supposed Author lay under for Writing this Letter, absolutely ruined him with the late M—stry. I have taken leave to omit about a Page which was purely Personal, and of no use to the Subject.

A LET.

A

LETTER

*From a Member of the House
of Commons in Ireland,
to a Member of the House
of Commons in England,
concerning the SACRA-
MENTAL TEST.*

Written in the Year, 1708.

SIR,

I Received your Letter, wherein
you tell me of the strange Repre-
sentations made of us on your
side of the Water. The Instance you
are pleased to mention is that of the
Presbyterian *Missionary*, who accord-
ing

ing to your Phrase, hath been lately *Persecuted* in *Drogheda* for his Religion; But it is easy to observe, how mighty Industrious some People have been for Three or Four Years past, to hand about Stories of the Hardships, the Merits, the Number and the Power of the *Presbyterians* in *Ireland*, to raise formidable Idea's of the Dangers of *Papery* there, and to transmit all for *England*, improved by great Additions, and with special care to have them inserted with Comments in those infamous Weekly Papers that infest your Coffee-Houses. So, when the Clause Enacting a *Sacramental Test* was put in Execution, it was given out in *England*, that half the Justices of Peace through this Kingdom had laid down their Commissions; whereas upon Examination, the whole Number was found to amount only to a Dozen or thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in Fortune and Understanding, and some of them Superannuated. So, when the Earl of *P——ke* was in *Ireland* and the Parliament Sitting, a formal Story was very gravely carried to his
Excel-

Excellency by some Zealous Members, of a Priest newly arrived from abroad to the North-west parts of *Ireland*, who had publicly Preached to his People, to fall a Murthering the Protestants; which tho' invented to serve an End they were then upon, and are still driving at, it was presently handed over, and Printed with shrewd Remarks by your worthy Scribblers. In like manner, the Account of that Person who was lately expelled our University for Reflecting on the Memory of King *William*, what a Dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in Memory. Neither would People be convinced till the University was at the pains of Publishing a Latin Paper to justify themselves. And, to mention no more, this Story of the *Persecution* at *Drogheda*, how it has been spread and aggravated, what Consequences drawn from it, and what Reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now if the End of all this Proceeding were a Secret and Mystery, I should not undertake to give it an Interpretation,

tation, but Care has been taken to give it sufficient Explanation. First by Addresses Artificially (if not Illegally) procured, to shew the miserable State of the Dissenters in *Ireland* by reason of the *Sacramental Test*, and to desire the Queen's Intercession that it might be Repealed. Then it is manifest that our S——r when he was last Year in *England*, Solicited in Person several Members of both Houses, to have it Repealed by an Act there, though it be a matter purely National, that cannot possibly interfere with the Trade and Interest of *England*, and tho' he himself appeared formerly the most Zealous of all Men against the Injustice of binding a Nation by Laws to which they do not consent. And lastly, those weekly Libellers whenever they get a Tale by the end relating to *Ireland*, without ever troubling their Thoughts about the Truth, always end it with an Application against the *Sacramental Test*, and the absolute Necessity there is of Repealing it in both Kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say any thing of such

Sacramental Test. 319

such Trifles as are below a serious Man's notice, much less would I disparage the understanding of any Party to think they would choose the Vilest and most Ignorant among Mankind to employ them for Asserters of a Cause; I shall only say, that the Scandalous Liberty those Wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with Opinions that *some Men* would be glad to Advance. Besides, how insipid soever those Papers are, they seem to be levelled to the Understandings of a great Number, they are grown a necessary part in Coffee-house Furniture, and some time or other happen to be Read by Customers of all Ranks, for Curiosity or Amusement; because they lie always in the way. One of these Authors (the Fellow that was *Pillor'd*, I have forgot his Name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a Rogue, that there is no enduring him; the *Observer* is much the brisker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in Lies and Impudence than his *Presbyterian* Brother; the Reason why I mention him, is to have an Occasion
of

of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel Case; Last Year, a Paper was brought here from *England*, called, *A Dialogue between the A. Bp. of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins*, which we ordered to be Burnt by the Common Hangman, as it well deserved; tho' we have no more to do with his Grace of *Canterbury* than you have with the A. Bp. of *Dublin*, nor can you Love and Reverence your Prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by Name, by that paultry Rascal of an *Observer*; and lately upon an Affair wherein he had no Concern; I mean the Business of the *Missionary* at *Droghedah*, wherein our excellent *Primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to Law and Discretion. But because the Lord A. Bp. of *Dublin* hath been upon several Occasions of late Years misrepresented in *England*; I would willingly set you right in his Character. For his great Sufferings and eminent Services, he was by the late King promoted to the See of *Derry*. About
the

the same time, he wrote a Book to Justify the Revolution, wherein was an Account of King *James's* Proceedings in *Ireland*, and the late A. Bp. *Tillotson* recommended it to the King as the most Serviceable Treatise that could have been Published at such a juncture. And as his Grace set out upon those Principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a Loyal Subject to the Queen, entirely for the Succession in the Protestant Line, and for ever excluding the *Pretender*; and tho' a firm Friend to the Church, yet with Indulgence towards Dissenters, as appears from his Conduct at *Derry*, where he was settled for many Years among the most virulent Sect; yet upon his removal to *Dublin*, they parted from him with Tears in their Eyes, and universal Acknowledgments of his Wisdom and Goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busie himself by entring deep into any Party, but rather spends his Time in Acts of Hospitality and Charity, in building of Churches, repairing his Palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest Persons he can find,

Y

with-

without other Regards; in short, in the Practice of all Virtues that can become a Publick or Private Life. This and more if possible, is due to so excellent a Person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most Learned Prelates, of his Age, however his Character may be Defiled by such mean and dirty Hands as those of the *Observer* or such as employ him.

I now come to answer the other Part of your Letter, and shall give you my Opinion freely about Repealing the *Sacramental Test*, only whereas you desire my Thoughts as a Friend, and not as I am a Member of Parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both Capacities.

I must begin by telling you we, are generally surpris'd at your wonderful kindness to us on this Occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our Interests in a Point where we are so unable to see it our selves. This hath given us some Suspicion; and

and tho' in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that when ever you concern your selves in our Affairs, it is certainly *for our Good*, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this Belief, and therefore I never attempted to justify it, but content my self to possess my own Opinion in private, for fear of encountring Men of more Wit or Words than I have to spare.

WE at this distance who see nothing of the Spring of Actions, are forced by meer Conjecture to assign two Reasons for your desiring us to repeal the *Sacramental Test*; one is, because you are said to imagine it will be one step towards the like *good Work* in *England*. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for Rewarding *several Persons* who have well deserved upon a *great Occasion*, but who are now unqualified thro' that Impediment.

I do not frequently quote Poets, especially *English*, but I remember there is in some of Mr. *Cowley's* Love

Y 2 Verses,

Verfel, a Strain that I thought extraordinary at Fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by *Ireland*.

*Forbid it Heaven my Life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt Conveniency.*

IN ſhort, whatever Advantage you propoſe to your ſelves by repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, ſpeak it out plainly, 'tis the beſt Argument you can uſe, for we value your Intereſt much more than our own; if your little Finger be Sore, and you think a Poltice made of our *Vitals* will give it any Eaſe, ſpeak the Word and it ſhall be done; The Intereſt of our whole Kingdom is at any time ready to Strike to that of your pooreſt *Fiſhing Towns*; it is hard you will not accept our Services unleſs we believe at the ſame Time that you are only conſulting our Profit, and giving us marks of your Love. If there be a Fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my Houſe before there be Occaſion, becauſe you are a Man of Quality, and apprehend ſome

some danger to a *Corner of your Stable* ; yet why should you require me to attend next Morning at your Levée with my humble Thanks for the Favour you have done me ?

I F we might be allowed to judge for our selves, we had abundance of Benefit by the *Sacramental Test*, and foresee a number of Mischiefs would be the Consequence of Repealing it, and we conceive the Objections made against it by the *Dissenters* are of no manner of force ; They tell us of their Merits in the late War in *Ireland*, and how chearfully they Engaged for the Safety of the Nation ; that had they thought they had been Fighting only other Peoples Quarrels, perhaps it might have cool'd their Zeal ; and that for the future they shall sit down quietly and let us do our Work our selves ; nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up Arms under the Penalty of High-Treason.

NOW supposing them to have done their Duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the *Fly on the Wheel*; I thought *Liberty, Property and Religion* had been the Three Subjects of the Quarrel, and have not all those been amply secured to them? Had they at that Time a *Mental Reservation* for *Power and Employments*? and must those Two Articles be added henceforward in our National Quarrels? It is grown a mighty Conceit among some Men to melt down the Phrase of a *Church Established by Law* into that of *the Religion of the Magistrate*; of which Appellation it is easier to find the Reason than the Sense: If by the *Magistrate* they mean the *Prince*, the Expression includes a Falshood; for when King *James* was *Prince*, the Established Church was the same it is now. If by the same Word they mean the Legislature, we desire no more. Be that as it will, we of this Kingdom believe the Church of *Ireland* to be the National Church, and the only one Established by Law, and
are

are willing by the same Law to give a *Toleration* to Dissenters; but if once we Repeal our *Sacramental Test*, and grant a *Toleration*, or suspend the Execution of the Penal Laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any Established Church remaining; or rather why there will not be as many Established Churches as there are Sects of Dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the National Church, because your Bishops and Clergy are Maintained by the Publick; But, *That* I suppose will be of no long Duration, and it would be very unjust it should, because, to speak in *Tindall's* Phrase, it is not reasonable that Revenues should be annexed to one Opinion more than another, when all are equally Lawful, and 'tis that Authors Maxim, That no Free-born Subject ought to Pay for maintaining Speculations he does not believe. *But why should any Man, upon Account of Opinions be cannot help, be deprived the Opportunity of Serving his Queen and Country?* Their Zeal is commendable, and when Employments go a begging for want of Hands, they

shall be sure to have the Refusal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon Maxims that equally include *Atheists, Turks, Jews, Infidels* and *Hereticks*, or which is still more dangerous, even *Papists* themselves; The former you allow, the other you deny, because these last own a Foreign Power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their Religion can suit with Free-states, with Limited or Absolute Monarchies, as well as a Better, and the *Popes* Power in *France* is but a shadow; so that upon this Foot there need be no great Danger to the Constitution by admitting *Papists* to Employments. I will help you to enough of them shall be ready to allow the *Pope* as little Power here as you please; and the bare Opinion of his being Vicar of Christ is but a *Speculative Point*, for which no Man it seems ought to be deprived the Capacity of Serving his Country.

BUT

BUT if you please, I will tell you the great Objection we have against Repealing this same *Sacramental Test*. It is, that we are verily perswaded the Consequence will be an entire Alteration of Religion among us in a no great Compass of Years. And, pray observe how we reason here in *Ireland* upon this Matter.

WE observe the *Scots* in our Northern Parts, to be a Brave, Industrious People, extreamly devoted to their Religion, and full of an *undisturbed* Affection towards each other. Numbers of that Noble Nation, invited by the Fertilities of the Soil, are glad to exchange their Barren Hills of *Louquabar*, by a Voyage of Three Hours, for our Fruitful Vales of *Down* and *Antrim*, so productive of that *Grain*, which at little Trouble and less Expence finds Diet and Lodging for themselves and their Cattle. These People by their extream Parsimony, wonderful *Dexterity in Dealing*, and firm Adherence to one another, soon
grow

grow into Wealth from the *smallest Beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and encrease daily by new Supplies; Besides when they are the superior Number in any Tract of Ground, they are not *over-Patient of Mixture*; but such, whom they cannot *assimilate*, soon find it their Interest to remove. I have done all in my Power on some Land of my own to preserve Two or Three *English* Fellows in their Neighbourhood, but found it impossible, tho' one of them thought he had sufficiently made his Court by turning Presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from *Scotland* a most formidable Notion of our Church, which they look upon at least three Degrees worse than Popery; and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that Spirit which taught them to abolish Episcopacy at home.

THEN we proceed farther, and observe, that the Gentlemen of Employments here, make a very considerable Number in the House of Commons,

mons, and have no *other Merit* but that of doing their Duty in their several Stations; therefore when the Test is Repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give Place to those who have much *greater Services* to plead. The Commissions of the Revenue are soon disposed of, and the Collectors and other Officers throughout the Kingdom are generally appointed by the Commissioners, which give them a mighty Influence in every Country. As much may be said of the great Officers in the Law; and when this Door is open to let Dissenters into the Commissions of the Peace, to make them High-Sheriffs, Mayors of Corporations, and Officers of the Army and Militia; I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their Industry and our Supineness, but that they may in a very few Years grow to a Majority in the House of Commons, and consequently make themselves the National Religion, and have a fair Pretence to demand the Revenues of the Church for their Teachers. I know it will be Objected, that if all this should happen as I describe,

yet

yet the Presbyterian Religion could never be made the National by Act of Parliament, because our Bishops are so great a Number in the House of Lords, and without a Majority there, the Church could not be Abolished. But I have *two very good Expedients* for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare Swear our Sp--k-r here has often thought on, especially having endeavoured at *One of them* so lately. That this design is not so foreign from *some Peoples* Thoughts, I must let you know what an honest *Bell-weather* of our House (you have him now in *England*, I wish you could keep him there) had the Impudence some Years ago, in Parliament time, to shake my Lord Bishop of *Killaloo* by his Lawn Sleeve, and tell him in a threatening manner, *That he hoped to live to see the Day when there should not be one of his Order in the Kingdom.*

THESE last Lines perhaps you think a Digression; therefore to return, I have told you the Consequences we fully reckon upon from
Repeal,

Sacramental Test. 333

Repealing the *Sacramental Test*, which although the greatest Number of such as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of Pain about, and many of them care not Three Pence whether there be any *Church* or no; yet because they pretend to argue from Conscience as well as Policy and Interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

NOW Sir in Answer to your Question, Whether if an attempt should be made here for Repealing the *Sacramental Test*, it would be likely to Succeed? The Number of Profest Dissenters in this Parliament was, as I remember, something under a Dozen, and I cannot call to mind above Thirty others who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the Presbyterian Party having with great Industry mustered up their Forces, did endeavour one Day upon occasion of a Hint in my Lord P——ke's Speech, to introduce a Debate about Repealing the *Test Clause*, when there appeared at least Four to One Odds against them; and the ablest

blest of those who were reckoned the most staunch and thorough-pace *Whigs* upon all other Occasions, fell off with an Abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take Notice, that the Terms of *Whig* and *Tory*, do not properly express the different Interests in our Parliament. I remember when I was last in *England*, I told the King, that the highest *Tories* we had with us, would make tolerable *Whigs* there; this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new Characteristicks, which did not come within our Definition. Whoever bears a true veneration for the Glorious Memory of K. *William*, as our great Deliverer from Popery and Slavery; whoever is firmly Loyal to our present Queen, with an utter Abhorrence and Detestation of the Pretender; whoever approves the Succession to the Crown in the House of *Hannover*, and is for preserving the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, with an *Indulgence* for

for Scrupulous Consciences, such a Man we think acts upon right Principles, and may be justly allowed a *Whig*; And I believe there are not Six Members in our House of Commons, who may not fairly come under this Description. So that the Parties among us are made up on one side of *Moderate Whigs*, and on the other, of *Presbyterians* and their *Abettors*; by which last I mean, such who can equally go to a *Church* or a *Conventicle*, or such who are indifferent to all Religion in general, or lastly such who affect to bear a Personal Rancor towards the Clergy; These last are a set of Men not of our own Growth, their Principles at least have been *imported* of late Years; Yet this whole Party put together will hardly, I am confident amount to above Fifty Men in Parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a Majority of Three Hundred.

AS to the House of Lords, the Difficulty there is conceived at least as great as in Ours. So many of our Temporal Peers live in *England*, that
the

the Bishops are generally pretty near a *Par* of the House, and we reckon they will be all to a Man against Repealing the *Test*, and yet their Lordships are generally thought as good Whigs upon our Principles as any in the Kingdom. There are indeed a few Lay Lords who appear to have no great Devotion for Episcopacy; and perhaps one or two more with whom *certain powerful Motives* might be used for removing any Difficulty whatsoever; But these are in no sort of a Number to carry any Point against a Conjunction of the rest with the whole Bench of Bishops.

BESIDES, the whole Body of our Clergy are utterly against Repealing the *Test*, though they are entirely Devoted to Her Majesty, and hardly One in a Hundred who are not very good *Whigs* in our Acceptation of the Word. And I must let you know, that we of *Ireland* are not yet come up to *other Folks Refinements*, for we generally Love and Esteem our Clergy, and think they deserve it; nay we are apt to lay some weight upon
their

their Opinion, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least unless it were upon some greater Point of Interest than this. And their Judgment in the present Affairs is the more to be regarded, because they are the last Persons who will be affected by it; This makes us think them Impartial, and that their Concern is only for Religion and the Interest of the Kingdom. Because the Act which Repeals the *Test*, will only qualifie a *Layman* for an Employment, but not a *Presbyterian* or *Anabaptist* Parson for a Church Living. Now I must take leave to inform you, that several Members of our House, and and my self among the rest, knowing some time ago what was upon the Anvil, went to all the Clergy we knew of any Distinction, and desired their Judgment in the Matter, wherein we found a most wonderful Agreement; there being but *One Divine* that we could hear of in the whole Kingdom, who appeared of a contrary Sentiment, wherein he afterwards stood alone in the *Convocation*, very little

to his *Credit*, tho' as he hoped, very much to his *Interest*.

I will now consider a little the Arguments offered to shew the Advantages or rather the Necessity of Repealing the *Test* in *Ireland*. We are told, the Popish Interest is here so formidable, that all hands should be joyned to keep it under, that the only names of Distinctions among us ought to be those of *Protestant* and *Papist*, and that this Expedient is the only means to unite all Protestants upon one common Bottom. All which is nothing but Misrepresentation and Mistake.

IF we were under any real Fear of the Papists in this Kingdom, it would be hard to think us so Stupid, not to be equally apprehensive with *others*, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate Sufferers; But on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the Women and Children. Their Lands are almost intirely taken from them, and they are rendred incapable of

of Purchasing any more ; and for the little that remains, Provision is made by the late Act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away : To prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned Protestants, and so in all Probability will many more. Then, the Popish Priests are all Registred, and without Permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no Successors ; so that the Protestant Clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great Numbers over to the Church ; and in the mean time, the common People without Leaders, without Discipline, or natural Courage, being little better than *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*, are out of all capacity of doing any Mischief, if they were ever so well inclin'd. Neither are they at all likely to joyn in any considerable Numbers with an *Invader*, having found so ill Success when they were much more Numerous and Powerful ; when they had a Prince of their own Religion to Head them, had been Train'd for some Years under a *Popish*

Deputy, and received such mighty Ayds from the *French King*.

A S to that Argument used for Repealing the *Test*; that it will unite all the Protestants against the *Common Enemy*, I wonder by what Figure those Gentlemen Speak who are pleased to advance it: Suppose in order to encrease the Friendship between you and me, a Law should pass that I must have half your Estate; do you think that would much advance the Union between us? Or suppose I share my Fortune equally between my own *Children*, and a *Stranger* whom I take into my Protection; will that be a Method to unite them? 'Tis an odd way of uniting Parties, to deprive a *Majority* of part of their antient Right, by conferring it on a *Faction* who had never any Right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any Loss or Injury if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some People may stretch the Term of *Common Enemy*. How many are there of those that call themselves Protestants, who look upon our Worship

to be Idolatrous as well as that of the Papists, and with great Charity put *Prelacy* and *Popery* together as Terms convertible?

AND therefore there is one small doubt, I would be willingly satisfied in before I agree to the Repealing of the *Test*; that is, whether, these same *Protestants*, when they have by their Dexterity made themselves the National Religion, and disposed the Church Revenues among their *Pastors* or *Themselves*, will be so kind to allow *us Dissenters*, I do not say a share in Employments, but a bare *Toleration* by Law. The Reason of my Doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to Read above Fifty Pamphlets, written by as many Presbyterian Divines, loudly disclaiming this Idol *Toleration*, some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *Rag of Popery*, and all agreeing, it was to *establish Iniquity by Law*. Now, I would be glad to know when and where *their Successors* have renounced this Doctrine, and before what Witnesses. Because methinks I should be

loath to see my poor Titular Bishop *in partibus* seized on by mistake in the Dark for a Jesuit, or be forced my self to keep a Chaplin Disguised like my Butler, and steal to Prayers in a back Room, as my Grandfather used in those times when the Church of England was Malignant.

BUT this is ripping up old Quarrels long forgot; Popery is now the *Common Enemy*, against which we must all unite; I have been tired in History with the perpetual Folly of those States who call in Foreigners to assist them against a *Common Enemy*: But the Mischief was, these *Allies* would never be brought to allow that the *Common Enemy* was quite Subdued: and they had Reason; for it proved at last, that one part of the *Common Enemy* was those who called them in, and so the *Allies* became at length the *Masters*.

'TIS agreed among Naturalists that a *Lyon* is a Larger, a Stronger, and more dangerous Enemy than a *Cat*; yet if a Man were to have his Choice, either

Sacramental Test. 343

either a *Lyon* at his Foot, bound fast with Three or Four Chains, his Teeth drawn out, and his Claws pared to the Quick, or an angry *Cat* in full Liberty at his Throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful significancy of that Word *Persecution*, and what various Interpretations it hath acquired even within my Memory. When I was a Boy, I often heard the Presbyterians complain that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way; they said they did not grudge us our Employments, but thought that all Men who live Peaceably ought to have Liberty of Conscience, and leave to Assemble. That Impediment being removed at the Revolution, they soon learned to swallow the *Sacramental Test*, and began to take very large Steps, wherein all that offered to oppose them, were called Men of a *Persecuting Spirit*. During the time the Bill against Occasional Conformity was on foot, *Persecution* was every Day rung in our Ears, and now

at last the *Sacramental Test* it self has the same Name. Where then is this Matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one Request is only used as a step to demand another? A Lover is ever complaining of *Cruelty* while any thing is denied him, and when the Lady ceases to be *Cruel*, she is from the next Moment at his Mercy: So *Persecution* it seems is every thing, that will not leave it in Men's Power to *Persecute others*.

THERE is one Argument offered against a *Sacramental Test*, by a sort of Men who are content to be stiled of the Church of *England*, who perhaps attend its Service in the Morning, and go with their Wives to a *Conventicle* in the Afternoon, confessing they hear very good Doctrine in both. These Men are much offended that so Holy an Institution as that of the Lord's Supper should be made subservient to such Mercenary Purposes as the getting of an Employment. Now, it seems, the Law, concluding all Men to be Members of that Church where they Receive the Sacrament;
and

and supposing all Men to live like Christians (especially those who are to have Employments) did imagine they Received the Sacrament in course about Four times a Year, and therefore only desired it might appear by Certificate to the Publick, that such who took an Office were Members of the Church Established, by doing their ordinary Duty. However, *lest we should offend them*, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us; For if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in Parliament, that every Man who takes an Employment, should instead of Receiving the Sacrament, be obliged to Swear, that he is a Member of the Church of *Ireland* by Law Establish'd, with Episcopacy, *and so forth*; and as they do now in *Scotland*, *to be true to the Kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the Main Body of the Argument, urge the Hardship that Men should be deprived the liberty of Serving their Queen and Country on account of their Conscience: And in short have recourse to the common Stile of their
half

half Brethren. Now whether this be a sincere way of Arguing, I will appeal to any other Judgment but theirs.

THERE is another Topick of Clamour somewhat Parallel to the foregoing; It seems, by the Test Clause, the *Military* Officers are obliged to Receive the Sacrament as well as the *Civil*. And it is a Matter of some Patience to hear the Dissenters declaiming upon this Occasion: They cry they are *Disarmed*, they are used like *Papists*; when an Enemy appears at Home, or from Abroad, they must sit still, and see their Throats Cut, or be Hang'd for High Treason if they offer to Defend themselves. Miserable Condition! Woeful Dilemma! It is happy for us all, the Pretender was not apprised of this *Passive Presbyterian* Principle, else he would have infallibly Landed in our Northern Parts, and found them all sat down in their Formalities, as the *Gauls* did the *Roman* Senators, ready to Dye with Honour in their Callings. Sometimes to appease their Indignation, we venture to give them Hopes, that
in

in such a Case the Government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to Hang them for Defending it against the Letter of the Law; to which they readily answer, that they will not lye at our Mercy, but let us Fight our Battles our Selves. Sometimes we offer to get an Act, by which upon all *Popish* Insurrections at Home, or *Popish* Invasions from Abroad, the Government shall be empowered to grant Commissions to all Protestants whatsoever, without that *Persecuting* Circumstance of obliging them to *say their Prayers* when they receive the Sacrament; but they abhor all Thoughts of *Occasional* Commissions, they will not do our Drudgery, and we reap the Benefit; It is not worth their while to Fight *pro Aris & focis*, and they had rather lose their Estates, Liberties, Religion and Lives, than the pleasure of *Governing*.

BUT to bring this Discourse towards a Conclusion; If the Dissenters will be satisfied with such a *Toleration* by Law as hath been granted them in *England*, I believe the
Majo-

Majority of both Houses will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perswade this House of Commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to say the Truth, we make a mighty difference here between suffering *Thistles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *Posses*. We are fully convinced in our Consciences, that *We* shall always *Tolerate Them*, but not quite so fully that *They* will always *Tolerate Us*, when it comes to their Turn; And *We* are the Majority, and *We* are in Possession.

HE that Argues in Defence of a Law in Force, not Antiquated or Obsolete, but lately Enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the Dangers he conceives to foresee in the Abrogation of it.

FOR if the Consequences of Repealing this Clause, should at some time or other enable the Presbyterians to work themselves up into the National Church; instead of *uniting* Protestants, it would Sow eternal Divisions

visions among them. First their own Sects which now lye Dormant, would be soon at Cuffs *again* with each other about Power and Preferment; And the *Dissenting Episcopals*, perhaps discontented to such a Degree, as upon some *fair unhappy* Occasion, would be able to shake the firmest Loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

NEITHER is it very difficult to conjecture from some late Proceedings, at what a rate this *Faction* is like to Drive wherever it gets the *Whip* and the *Seat*. They have already set up Courts of Spiritual Judicature in open Contempt of the Laws: They send *Missionaries* every where, without being incited, in order to *Convert* the Church of *England* Folks to *Christianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend Persons on their Death Beds, and for Purposes much alike. And what Practises such Principles as these (with many others that might be invidious to mention) may Spaun, when they are *laid out to the Sun*, you may determine at Leisure.

LAST-

350 *A Letter concerning the, &c.*

LASTLY, whether we are so entirely sure of their Loyalty upon the present Foot of Government as you may imagine, their Detractors make a Question, which however, does I think by no means affect the Body of Dissenters; But the Instance produced, is of some among their Leading Teachers in the North, who have refused the *Abjuration Oath*, yet continue their Preaching, and have abundance of Followers. The Particulars are out of my Head, but the Fact is notorious enough, and I believe has been Published, I think it a Pity it has not been *Remedied*.

THUS I have fairly given you, Sir, my own Opinion, as well as that of a great Majority in both Houses here, relating to this weighty Affair, upon which I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what use of it you please.

I am with great Respect, Sir

Dublin December
the 4th. 1708.

Your, &c.

F I N I S.

V E R S E S

Wrote in a

LADY'S *Ivory Table-Book.*

Anno. 1698.

PERUSE my Leaves thro' ev'ry Part,
 And think thou seest my owners Heart,
 Scrawl'd o'er with Trifles thus, and quite
 As hard, as senseless, and as light:
 Expos'd to every Coxcomb's Eyes,
 But hid with Caution from the Wise.
 Here you may read (*Dear Charming Saint*)
 Beneath (*A new Receipt for Paint*)
 Here in Beau-spelling (*tru tel detb*)
 There in her own (*far an el breth*)

Here

352 *Verses Written in a, &c.*

Here (*lovely Nymph pronounce my doom*)
There (*A safe way to use Perfume*)
Here, a Page fill'd with Billet Doux;
On t'other side (*laid out for Shoes*)
(*Madam, I dye without your Grace*)
(*Item, for half a Yard of Lace.*)
Who that had Wit would place it here,
For every peeping Fop to Jear.
To think that your Brains Issue is
Expos'd to th' Excrement of his,
In power of Spittle and a Clout
When e're he please to blot it out;
And then to heighten the Disgrace
Clap his own Nonsense in the place.
Whoe're expects to hold his part
In such a Book and such a Heart,
If he be Wealthy and a Fool
Is in all Points the fittest Tool,
Of whom it may be justly said,
He's a Gold Pencil tipt with Lead.

TO

TO THEIR
EXCELLENCIES

THE

Lords Justices of IRELAND.

*The Humble Petition of Frances Harris,
Who must Starve, and Die a Maid if it miscarries.*

Anno. 1700.

Humbly Sheweth.

THAT I went to warm my self in Lady
Betty's Chamber, because I was cold,
And I had in a Purse, seven Pound, four
Shillings and six Pence, besides Farthings,
in Money, and Gold ;

So because I had been buying things for my
Lady last Night,

I was resolved to tell my Money, to see if it
was right :

A a

No

354 *Mrs. Harris's Petition.*

Now you must know, because my Trunk
has a very bad Lock,

Therefore all the Money, I have, which,
God knows, is a very small Stock,

I keep in a Pocket ty'd about my Middle,
next my Smock.

So when I went to put up my Purse, as God
would have it, my Smock was unript,

And, instead of putting it into my Pocket,
down it slipt :

Then the Bell rung, and I went down to put
my Lady to Bed,

And, God knows, I thought my Money was
as safe as my Maidenhead.

So when I came up again, I found my Pocket
feel very light,

But when I search'd, and miss'd my Purse,
Lord ! I thought I should have sunk out-
right :

Lord ! Madam, says Mary, how d'ye do ? In-
deed, says I, never worse ;

But pray, Mary, can you tell what I have done
with my Purse !

Lord

Mrs. Harris's Petition. 355

Lord help me, said *Mary*, I never stirr'd out
of this Place!

Nay, said I, I had it in Lady *Betty's* Chamber,
that's a plain Case.

So *Mary* got me to Bed, and cover'd me up
warm,

However, she stole away my Garters, that I
might do my self no Harm:

So I tumbl'd and tofs'd all Night, as you may
very well think,

But hardly ever set my Eyes together, or slept
a Wink.

So I was a-dream'd, methought, that we went
and searh'd the Folks round,

And in a Corner of Mrs. *Dukes's* Box, ty'd in
a Rag, the Money was found.

So next Morning we told *Whittle*, and he fell
a Swearing;

Then my Dame *Wadgar* came, and she, you
know, is thick of Hearing;

Dame, said I, as loud as I could bawl, do
you know what a Loss I have had?

356 *Mrs. Harris's Petition.*

Nay, said she, my Lord * *Collway's* Folks are
all very sad,

For my Lord † *Dromedary* comes a *Tuesday*
without fail ;

Pugh ! said I, but that's not the Business that
I ail.

Says *Cary*, says he, I have been a Servant this
Five and Twenty Years, come Spring,

And in all the Places I liv'd, I never heard of
such a Thing.

Yes, says the *Steward*, I remember when I was
at my Lady *Shrewsbury's*,

Such a thing as this happen'd , júst about the
time of *Goosberries*.

So I went to the Party suspected, and I found
her full of Grief ;

(Now you must know, of all Things in the
World, I hate a Thief.)

However, I was resolv'd to bring the Dis-
course sily about,

Mrs. *Dukes*, said I, here's an ugly Accident
has happen'd out ;

* *Gallway.*

† *Drogbeda.*

Mrs. Harris's Petition. 357

'Tis not that I value the Money three Skips of
a Loufe ;

But the Thing I stand upon, is the Credit of
the House ;

'Tis true, seven Pound, four Shillings, and six
Pence, makes a great Hole in my Wages,

Besides, as they say, Service is no Inheritance
in these Ages.

Now, Mrs. *Dukes*, you know, and every
Body understands,

That tho' 'tis hard to judge, yet Money can't
go without Hands.

The *Devil* take me, said she, (blessing her
self,) if I ever saw't !

So she roar'd like a *Bedlam*, as tho' I had call'd
her all to naught ;

So you know, what could I say to her any
more,

I e'en left her, and came away as wife as I was
before.

Well : But then they would have had me gone
to the Cunning Man ;

No, said I, 'tis the same Thing, the *Chaplain*
will be here anon.

358 *Mrs. Harris's Petition.*

So the *Chaplain* came in; now the Servants say,
he is my Sweet-heart,

Because he's always in my Chamber, and I al-
ways take his Part;

So, as the *Devil* would have it, before I was
aware, out I blunder'd,

Parson, said I, can you cast a *Nativity*, when
a Body's plunder'd?

(Now you must know, he hates to be call'd
Parson, like the *Devil*.)

Truly, says he, *Mrs. Nab*, it might become you
to be more civil:

If your Money be gone, as a Learned *Divine*
says, d'ye see,

You are no *Text* for my Handling, so take
that from me:

I was never taken for a *Conjurer* before, I'd
have you to know.

Lord, said I, don't be angry, I'm sure I never
thought you so;

You know, I honour the Cloth, I design to be
a *Parson's Wife*,

I never took one in *Your Coat* for a *Conjurer* in
all my Life.

With

Mrs. Harris's Petition. 359

With that, he twisted his Girdle at me like a
Rope, as who should say,

Now you may go hang your self for me, and
so went away.

Well ; I thought I should have swoon'd ; *Lord*,
said I, what shall I do ?

I have lost my *Money*, and shall lose my *True-*
Love too.

Then my *Lord* call'd me ; *Harry*, said my
Lord, don't cry,

I'll give something towards thy Loss ; and says
my *Lady*, so will I.

Oh but, said I, what if after all my Chaplain
won't come to ?

For that, he said, (an't please your *Excellen-*
cies) I must Petition You.

The Premises tenderly consider'd, I desire your
Excellencies Protection,

And that I may have a Share in next *Sunday's*
Collection :

360 *Mrs. Harris's Petition.*

And over and above, that I may have your
Excellencies Letter,

With an Order for the *Chaplain* aforesaid; or
instead of Him, a Better :

And then your poor *Petitioner*, both Night
and Day,

Or the *Chaplain*, (for 'tis his *Trade*) as in
Duty bound, shall ever *Pray*.

Lady

*Lady B----- B----- finding
in the Authors Room some Ver-
ses Unfinished, underwrit a
Stanza of her own, with Rai-
lery upon him, which gave Oc-
casion to this Ballade.*

August, 1702.

To the Tune of the Cutpurse.

I.

ONCE on a time, as old Stories rehearse,
A Fryer would needs show his Ta-
lent in *Latin*;

But was sorely put to't in the midst of a Verse,
Because he could find no Word to come pat in.

Then all in the Place

He left a void Space,

And so went to Bed in a desperate Case.

When,

362 *Ballad to the Lady B. B.*

When, Behold the next Morning, a wonderful
Riddle,

He found it was strangely fill'd in the Middle.

Cho. *Let Censuring Criticks then think what they
list on't,*

*Who would not Write Verses with such an
assistant.*

I I.

This put me the Fryar into an Amazement,

For he wisely consider'd it must be a Sprite,

That came through the Key-Hole, or in at the
Casement,

And it needs must be one that could both
Read and Write:

Yet he did not know

If it were Friend or Foe,

Or whether it came from Above or Below.

Howe'er it was civil in Angel or Elf,

For he ne're could have fill'd it so well of him-
self.

Cho. *Let Censuring, &c.*

Even

Ballad to the Lady B. B. 363

III.

Even so Master Doctor had Puzzled his Brains
In making a Ballad, but was at a Stand,
He had mixt little Wit with a great deal of Pains,
When he found a new Help from Invisible
Hand.

Then Good Dr. S----

Pay Thanks for the Gift,

For you freely must own you were at a Dead
lift;

And tho' some Malicious Young Spirit did do't,
You may know by the Hand, it had no Cloven
Foot.

Cho. *Let Censuring Criticks then think what they
list on't,*

*Who would not Write Verses with such an
assistant.*

V—'s

V—'s HOUSE

*Built from the Ruins of White-
Hall that was Burnt.*

Written, 1703.

IN Times of *Old*, when Time was *Young*,
And Poets their one Verses Sung,
A Verse could draw a Stone or Beam
That now would overload a Team;
Lead 'em a Dance of many a Mile,
Then rear 'em to a goodly Pile.
Each Number had it's diff'rent Pow'r;
Heroick Strains could build a Tow'r;
Sonnets, or Elogies to *Chloris*
Might raise a House about two Stories;

A Lyrick

A Lyrick Ode would Slate ; a Catch
Would Tile ; an Epigram would Thatch.

BUT, to their own; or Landlord's Cost,
Now Poets feel this Art is lost :
Not one of all our tuneful Throng
Can raise a Lodging *for a Song*.
For, *Jove* consider'd well the Case,
Observ'd, they grew a num'rous Race.
And should they *Build* as fast as *Write*,
'Twould ruin Undertakers quite.
This Evil, therefore to prevent,
He wisely chang'd their Element :
On Earth, the God of Wealth was made
Sole Patron of the Building Trade,
Leaving the Wits the Spacious Air
With Licence to *build Castles* there :
And 'tis conceiv'd, their old Pretence
To lodge in Garrats. comes from thence.

PRE-

PREMISING thus in Modern way
 The better Half we had to say ;
 Sing Muse the House of Poet V—
 In higher Strains than we began.

V— (for 'tis fit the Reader know it)
 Is both a Herald and a Poet,
 No wonder then, if nicely skill'd
 In both Capacities, to Build.
 As Herald, he can in a Day
 Repair a *House* gone to Decay,
 Or by *Atchivement, Arms, Devise,*
 Erect a new one in a trice.
 And as a Poet, he has Skill
 To build in Speculation still.
 Great *Jove*, he cry'd, the Art restore
 To build by Verse as heretofore,
 And make my Muse the Architect ;
 What Palaces shall we erect !

No longer shall forsaken *Thames*
 Lament his old *Whitehall* in Flames,
 A Pile shall from its Ashes rise
 Fit to Invade or prop the Skies.

JOVE Smil'd, and like a gentle God,
 Consenting with the usual Nod,
 Told V—— he knew his Talent best,
 And left the Choice to his own Breast.
 So V—— resolv'd to Write a Farce,
 But well perceiving Wit was scarce,
 With Cunning that Defect supplies,
 Takes a *French* Play as lawful Prize,
 Steals thence his Plot, and ev'ry Joke,
 Not once suspecting, *Jove* would *Smoak*,
 And, (like a Wag) sat down to Write,
 Would whisper to himself; *A Bite*,
 Then, from the motly mingled Style
 Proceeded to erect his Pile:

So

So, Men of old, to gain Renown, did
 Build *Babel* with their Tongues confounded.
Jove saw the Cheat, but thought it best
 To turn the Matter to a Jest ;
 Down from *Olympus* Top he Slides,
 Laughing as if he'd burst his Sides :
 Ay, thought the God, are these your Tricks ?
 Why then, *old Plays* deserve *old Bricks*,
 And since you're sparing of your Stuff,
 Your Building shall be small enough.
 He spake, and grudging, lent his Ayd ;
 Th' experienc't Bricks that knew their Trade,
 (As being Bricks at Second Hand,)
 Now move, and now in Order Stand.

THE Building, as the Poet Writ,
 Rose in proportion to his Wit :
 And first the Prologue built a Wall
 So wide as to encompass all.

The

*The Scene, a Wood, produc'd no more
Than a few Scrubby Trees before.
The Plot as yet lay deep, and so
A Cellar next was dug below:
But this a Work so hard was found,
Two Acts it cost him under Ground.
Two other Acts we may presume
Were spent in Building each a Room;
Thus far advanc'd, he made a shift
To raise a Roof with Act the Fift.
The Epilogue behind, did frame
A Place not decent here to name.*

NOW Poets from all Quarters ran
To see the House of Brother V—: :
Lookt high and low, walkt often round,
But no such House was to be found;
One asks the Watermen hard by,
Where may the Poets Palace ly?

Another, of the *Thames* enquires,
 If he has seen its gilded Spires.
 At length they in the Rubbish spy
 A Thing resembling a Goose Py,
 Farther in haste the Poets throng,
 And gaze in silent Wonder long,
 Till one in Raptures thus began
 To praise the Pile, and Builder V—.

THRICE happy Poet, who may trail
 Thy House about thee like a Snail ;
 Or Harness'd to a Nag, at ease
 Take Journies in it like a Chaise ;
 Or in a Boat when e're thou wilt
 Canst make it serve thee for a Tilt.
 Capacious House ! 'tis own'd by all
 Thou 'rt well contriv'd, tho' thou art small ;
 For ev'ry Wit in *Britain's* Isle
 May lodge within thy Spacious Pile.
 Like *Bacchus* Thou, as Poets feign,
 Thy Mother burnt, art Born again ;

Born

Born like a *Phenix* from the Flame,
 But neither *Bulk*, nor *Shape* the same :
 As Animals of largest Size
 Corrupt to Maggots, Worms and Flies.
 A Type of *Modern* Wit and Style,
The Rubbish of an Antient Pile.
 So *Chymists* boast they have a Pow'r
 From the dead Ashes of a Flow'r
 Some faint Resemblance to produce,
 But not the Virtue, Taste or Juice.
 So *Modern* Rimers wisely *Blast*
 The Poetry of Ages past,
 Which after they have overthrown,
 They from its Ruins build their own.

T H E
DESCRIPTION
O F A
Salamander.

Out of Pliny Nat. Hist. L. 10. C. 67. and L. 29. C. 4.

Anno. 1705.

AS Mastive Dogs in Modern Phraſe are
Call'd *Pompey*, *Scipio* and *Cæſar* ;
As *Pies* and *Daws* are often ſtil'd
With Chriſtian Nick-names like a Child ;
As we ſay, *Monſieur*, to an *Ape*
Without offence to Human Shape:

So

So Men have got from Bird and Brute
Names that would best their Natures suit :
The *Lyon*, *Eagle*, *Fox* and *Bear*
Were Hero's Titles heretofore,
Bestow'd as Hi'roglyphicks fit
T' express their Valor, Strength or Wit.
For, what is understood by *Fame*
Beside the getting of a Name?
But e're since Men invented Guns,
A different way their Fancy runs ;
To paint a Hero, we enquire
For something that will conquer Fire,
Would you describe *Turenne* or *Trump*
Think of a Bucket or a Pump.
Are these too low ? — then find out grander,
Call my Lord C — a *Salamander*.
'Tis well. — But since we live among
Detractors with an evil Tongue,
Who may object against the Term,
Pliny shall prove what we affirm :

374 *The* SALAMANDER.

Pliny shall prove, and we'll apply,
And I'll be judg'd by standers-by.

FIRST then, our Author has defin'd
This Reptil, of the Serpent kind,
With gawdy Coat, and shining Train,
But loathsom Spots his Body stain :
Out from some Hole obscure he flies
When Rains descend, and Tempests rise,
Till the Sun clears the Air ; and then
Crawls back neglected to his Den.

SO when the War has rais'd a Storm
I've seen a *Snake* in human Form,
All stain'd with Infamy and Vice,
Leap from the Dunghill in a trice,
Burnish and make a gaudy show,
Become a General, Peer and Beau,

Till

The SALAMANDER. 375

Till Peace hath made the Sky Serene,
Then shrink into it's Hole again.

*All this we grant — why, then look yonder,
Sure that must be a Salamander !*

FARTHER, we are by *Pliny* told
This *Serpent* is extreemly cold,
So cold, that put it in the Fire,
'Twill make the very Flames expire,
Beside, it Spues a filthy Froth,
(Whether thro' Rage or Love, or both)
Of Matter purulent and white
Which happ'ning on the Skin to light,
And there corrupting to a Wound
Spreads Leprosy and Baldness round.

SO have I seen a batter'd Beau
By Age and Claps grown cold as Snow,
Whose Breath or Touch, where e'er he came,
Blew out Love's Torch or chill'd the Flame :

376 *The* SALAMANDER.

And should some Nymph who ne'er was cruel,
Like *Carleton* cheap, or fam'd *Durnel*,
Receive the Filth which he ejects,
She soon would find, the same Effects
Her tainted Carcase to pursue,
As from the *Salamander's* Spue ;
A Dismal shedding of her Locks
And, if no Leprosy, a Pox.

Then I'll appeal to each By-stander,
Whether this ben't a Salamander.

BAU-

B A U C I S
A N D
P H I L E M O N.

Imitated, From the Eighth Book of OVID.

Written, 1706.

IN antient Times, as Story tells,
The Saints would often leave their Cells,
And strole about, but hide their Quality,
To try good People's Hospitality.

IT happen'd on a Winter Night,
As Authors of the Legend write ;

Two

378 BAUCIS *and* PHILEMON.

Two Brother Hermits, Saints by Trade,
Taking their *Tour* in Masquerade;
Disguis'd in tatter'd Habits, went
To a small Village down in *Kent*;
Where, in the Strolers Canting Strain,
They beg'd from Door to Door in vain;
Try'd ev'ry Tone might Pity win,
But not a Soul would let them in.

OUR wand'ring Saints in woful State,
Treated at this ungodly Rate.
Having thro' all the Village pass'd,
To a small Cottage came at last;
Where dwelt a good old honest Yeoman,
Call'd, in the Neighbourhood, *Philemon*.
Who kindly did the Saints invite
In his Poor Hut to pass the Night;
And then the Hospitable Sire
Bid *Goody Baucis* mend the Fire;

While

BAUCIS *and* PHILEMON. 379

While He from out of Chimney took
A Flitch of Bacon off the Hook;
And freely from the fattest Side
Cut out large Slices to be fry'd:
Then stept aside to fetch 'em Drink,
Fill'd a large Jug up to the Brink;
And saw it fairly twice go round;
Yet (what is wonderful) they found,
'Twas still replenish'd to the Top,
As if they ne'er had toucht a Drop.
The good old Couple was amaz'd,
And often on each other gaz'd;
For both were frighted to the Heart,
And just began to cry; — What ar't?
Then softly turn'd aside to view,
Whether the Lights were burning blue.
The gentle *Pilgrims* soon aware on't,
Told 'em their Calling, and their Errant:
Good Folks, you need not be afraid,
We are but *Saints*, the Hermits said;

No

380 BAUCIS *and* PHILEMON.

No Hurt shall come to You, or Yours ;
But, for that Pack of churlish Boors,
Not fit to live on Christian Ground,
They and their Houses shall be drown'd :
Whilst you shall see your Cottage rise,
And grow a Church before your Eyes.

THEY scarce had Spoke ; when, fair and soft,
The Roof began to mount aloft ;
Aloft rose ev'ry Beam and Rafter,
The heavy Wall climb'd slowly after.

THE Chimney widen'd, and grew higher,
Became a Steeple with a Spire.

THE Kettle to the Top was hoist,
And there stood fast'ned to a Joist :
But with the Upside down, to shew
Its Inclinations for below ;
In vain ; for a Superior Force
Analy'd at Bottom, stops its Course,

Doom'd

BAUCIS and PHILEMON. 381

Doom'd ever in Suspence to dwell,
'Tis now no Kettle, but a Bell.

A wooden Jack, which had almost
Lost, by Disuse, the Art to Roast,
A sudden Alteration feels,
Increas'd by new Intestine Wheels:
And, what exalts the Wonder more,
The Number made the Motion slow'r:
The Flyer, tho't had Leaden Feet,
Turn'd round so quick, you scarce cou'd see't;
But slacken'd by some secret Power,
Now hardly moves an Inch an Hour.
The Jack and Chimney near ally'd,
Had never left each other's Side;
The Chimney to a Steeple grown,
The Jack wou'd not be left alone,
But up against the Steeple rear'd,
Became a Clock, and still adher'd:

And

382 BAUCIS *and* PHILEMON.

And still its Love to Household Cares
By a shrill Voice at Noon declares,
Warning the Cook-maid, not to burn
That Roast-meat which it cannot turn.

THE Groaning Chair began to crawl
Like an huge Snail along the Wall ;
There stuck aloft, in Publick View,
And with small Change, a Pulpit grew.

THE Porringers, that in a Row
Hung high, and made a glitt'ring Show,
To a less Noble Substance chang'd,
Were now but Leathern Buckets rang'd.

THE Ballads pasted on the Wall,
Of *Joan of France*, and *English Moll*,
Fair Rosamond, and *Robin Hood*,
The Little Children in the Wood :
Now seem'd to look abundance better,
Improv'd in Picture, Size, and Letter ;

And

BAUCIS and PHILEMON. 383

And high in Order plac'd, describe
The Heraldry of ev'ry Tribe.

A Bedstead of the Antique Mode,
Compact of Timber many a Load,
Such as our Ancestors did use,
Was Metamorphos'd into Pews ;
Which still their antient Nature keep ;
By lodging Folks dispos'd to Sleep.

THE Cottage by such Feats as these,
Grown to a Church by just Degrees,
The Hermits then desir'd their Host
To ask for what he fancy'd most :
Philemon, having paus'd a while,
Return'd 'em Thanks in homely Stile ;
Then said ; my House is grown so Fine,
Methinks, I still wou'd call it mine :
I'm Old, and fain wou'd live at Ease,
Make me the *Parson*, if you please.

HE

384 BAUCIS *and* PHILEMON.

HE spoke, and presently he feels,
His Grazier's Coat fall down his Heels ;
He sees, yet hardly can believe,
About each Arm a Pudding-sleeve ;
His Waistcoat to a Cassock grew,
And both assum'd a Sable Hue ;
But being Old, continu'd just
As Thread-bare, and as full of Dust.
His Talk was now of *Tythes* and *Dues*,
Cou'd smoak his Pipe, and read the News ;
Knew how to preach old Sermons next,
Vampt in the Preface and the Text ;
At Christnings well could act his Part,
And had the Service all by Heart ;
Wish'd Women might have Children fast,
And thought whose Sow had *farrow'd* last :
Against *Dissenters* wou'd repine,
And stood up firm for *Right Divine* :

Found

BAUCIS and PHILEMON. 385

Found his Head fill'd with many a System,
But Clafick Authors—he ne'er miss'd 'em.

THUS having furbish'd up a Parson,
Dame *Baucis* next, they play'd their Farce on:
Instead of Home-spun Coifs were seen,
Good Pinner's edg'd with Colberteen:
Her Petticoat transform'd apace,
Became Black Sattin, Flounc'd with Lace.
Plain *Goody* would no longer down,
'Twas *Madam*, in her Grogam Gown.
Philemon was in great Surprize,
And hardly could believe his Eyes,
Amaz'd to see Her look so Prim,
And she admir'd as much at Him.

THUS, happy in their Change of Life,
Were several Years this Man and Wife,
When on a Day, which prov'd their last,
Discourfing on old Stories past,

Cc

They

386 BAUCIS and PHILEMON.

They went by chance, amidst their Talk,
To the Church-yard, to take a walk ;
When *Baucis* hastily cry'd out ;
My Dear, I see your Forehead sprout :
Sprout, quoth the Man, What's this you tell us ?
I hope you don't believe me Jealous :
But yet, methinks, I feel it true ;
And re'ly, Yours is budding too——
Nay, —now I cannot stir my Foot :
It feels as if 'twere taking Root.

DESCRIPTION would but tire my Muse :
In short, they both were turn'd to *Tems*.
Old Good-man *Dobson* of the Green
Remembers he the Trees has seen ;
He'll talk of them from Noon till Night,
And goes with Folks to shew the Sight :
On *Sundays*, after Ev'ning Prayer,
He gathers all the Parish there ;

Points

BAUCIS and PHILEMON. 387

Points out the Place of either *Ten*;
Here *Baucis*, there *Philemon* grew.
Till once, a Parson of our Town,
To mend his Barn, cut *Baucis* down;
At which, 'tis hard to be believ'd,
How much the other Tree was griev'd,
Grew Scrubby, dy'd a-top, was stunted:
So, the next Parson stub'd and burnt it.

T O

*Mrs. BIDDY FLOYD.**Anno. 1708.*

(treat,
WHEN *Cupid* did his Grandfire *Jove* in-
 To form some Beauty by a new Receipt,
Jove sent and found far in a Country Scene,
 Truth, Innocence, Good Nature, Look serene;
 From which Ingredients, First the dext'rous Boy
 Pickt the Demure, the Aukward, and the Coy;
 The *Graces* from the Court did next provide
 Breeding, and Wit, and Air, and decent Pride;
 These *Venus* cleans'd from ev'ry spurious Grain
 Of Nice, Coquet, Affected, Pert, and Vain.
Jove mix'd up all, and his best Clay imploy'd;
 Then call'd the happy Composition, *Flóyd*.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
V-----'s HOUSE.

Anno 1708.

WHEN Mother *Clud* had rose from Play,
And call'd to take the Cards away;
V—— Saw, but seem'd not to regard,
How *Miss* pickt ev'ry Painted Card;
And *Bussie* both with Hand and Eye,
Soon Rear'd a House two Story high;
V——'s *Genius* without Thought or Lecture,
Is hugely turn'd to *Architecture*;
He view'd the Edifice, and smil'd,
Vow'd it was pretty for a Child;
It was so perfect in its Kind,
He kept the *Model* in his Mind.

Cc 3

BUT

BUT when he found the Boys at Play,
And saw them dabling in their Clay ;
He stood behind a Stall to lurk,
'And mark the Progress of their Work ;
With true Delight observ'd 'em All
Raking up *Mud* to build a Wall ;
The Plan he much admir'd, and took
The *Model* in his Table-Book ;
Thought himself now exactly skill'd,
'And so resolv'd a *House* to build ;
A *real House*, with *Rooms* and *Stairs*,
Five Times at least as big as theirs ;
Taller than *Miss*'s by two Yards,
Not a sham Thing of Clay, or Cards ;
And so he did : For in a while,
He built up such a monstrous Pile,
That no two Chair-men cou'd be found,
Able to lift it from the Ground ;

Still

V-----'s HOUSE. 391

Still at *White-Hall* it Stands in View,
Just in the Place where first it grew;
There all the little School-Boys run,
Envyng to see themselves out-done.

FROM such deep Rudiments as these,
V—— is become by due Degrees,
For Building Fam'd, and justly Reckon'd
At Court, *Vitruvius* the Second:
No wonder, since wise *Authors* show,
That *Best Foundations* must be Low;
And now the *Duke* has wisely ta'en him
To be his *Architect* at *Blenheim*:
But Raillery for once apart,
If this Rule holds in ev'ry Art;
Or if his *Grace* were no more Skill'd in
The Art of Battering Walls, than Building,
We might expect to see next Year,
A *Mouſe-trap* Man, Chief Engineer.

A
Grubstreet ELEGY

On the supposed Death of

PATRIGE
 THE
 ALMANACK-MAKER.

Anno. 1708.

WELL, 'tis as *Bickerstaff* has guest,
 Tho' we all took it for a Jest:
Patrige is Dead, nay more, he dy'd
 E'er he could prove the good *Squire* ly'd.
 Strange, an Astrologer should Die,
 Without one Wonder in the Sky;

Not

An Elegy on Patrige. 393

Not one of all his *Crony* Stars,
To pay their Duty at his Hearse!
No Meteor, no Eclipse appear'd!
No Comet with a flaming Beard!
The Sun has rose, and gone to Bed,
Just as if *Patrige* were not Dead;
Nor hid himself behind the Moon,
To make a dreadful Night at Noon:
He at fit Periods walks through *Aries*,
Howe'er our Earthly Motion varies,
And 'twice a Year he'll cut the *Æquator*,
As if there had been no such Matter.

SOME Wits have wondred what Analogy;
There is 'twixt * *Cobling* and *Astrology*;
How *Patrige* made his *Opticks* rise,
From a *Shoe Sole* to reach the Skies;

A *Lift* the Coblers Temples ties,
To keep the Hair out of their Eyes;

* *Patrige* was a *Cobler*.

394 *An Elegy on Patrige.*

From whence 'tis plain the *Diadem*
That Princes wear derives from them ;
And therefore *Crowns* are now-a-days
Adorn'd with *Golden Stars* and *Rays*,
Which plainly shews the near Alliance
'Twixt *Cobling* and the *Planets Science*.

BESIDES, that flow-pac'd Sign *Bo-otes*
As 'tis miscall'd, we know not who 'tis;
But *Patrige* ended all Disputes,
He knew his Trade, and call'd it † *Boots*.

THE *Horned Moon* which heretofore
Upon their Shoes the *Romans* wore,
Whose Wideness kept their Toes from Corns,
And whence we claim our *shoeing horns*,
Shews how the Art of *Cobling* bears
A near Resemblance to the *Spheres*.

† See his *Almanack*.

An Elegy on Patridge. 395

A Scrap of *Parchment* hung by *Geometry*,
A great Refinement in *Barometry* ;
Can like the Stars foretel the Weather ;
And what is *Parchment* else but *Leather* ?
Which an *Astrologer* might use,
Either for *Almanacks* or *Shoes*.

THUS *Patridge*, by his Wit and Parts,
At once did Practice both these Arts :
And as the Boading Owl, (or rather
The Bat, because her Wings are *Leather*,)
Steals from her Private Cell by Night,
And flies about the Candle-Light ;
So Learned *Patridge* could as well
Creep in the Dark from *Leathern* Cell,
And in his Fancy fly as far,
To peep upon a twinkling Star.

BESIDES, he could confound the *Spheres*,
And set the *Planets* by the Ears :

To

396 *An Elegy on Patrige.*

To shew his Skill, he *Mars* would join
To *Venus* in *Aspect Mali'n*,
Then call in *Mercury* for Aid,
And Cure the Wounds that *Venus* made.

G R E A T Scholars have in *Lucian* Read,
When *Philip* King of *Greece* was Dead,
His *Soul* and *Spirit* did divide,
And each Part took a diff'rent Side ;
One rose a Star, the other fell
Beneath, and mended Shoes in Hell.

T H U S *Patrige* still shines in each Art,
The *Cobling* and *Star-gazing* Part,
And is *Install'd* as good a Star,
As any of the *Cæsars* are.

T R I U M P H A N T Star ! Some Pity show
On *Coblers Militant* below,
Whom Roguish Boys in Stormy Nights
Torment, by pissing out their Lights ;

Or

An Elegy on Patrige. 397

Or thro' a Chink convey their Smoke,
Inclos'd *Artificers* to Choke.

THOU, high-exalted in thy Sphere,
May'st follow still thy Calling there.
To thee the *Bull* will lend his *Hide*,
By *Phæbus* newly Tann'd and Dry'd.
For thee they *Argo's* Hulk will Tax,
And scrape her Pitchy Sides for *Wax*.
Then *Ariadne* kindly Lends
Her Braided Hair to make thee *Ends*;
The Point of *Sagittarius* Dart,
Turns to an *Awl* by Heavenly Art;
And *Vulcan* wheedled by his Wife,
Will Forge for thee a *Paring Knife*,
For want of Room by *Virgo's* Side,
She'll strain a Point, and sit * astride
To take thee kindly in *between*,
And then the *Signs* will be *Thirteen*.

* Tibi brachia contrahet Ingens *Scorpius*, &c.

The EPITAPH.

HERE Five Foot deep lyes on his Back
A Cobler, Starmonger, and Quack,
Who to the Stars in pure Good-will,
Does to his best look upward still.
Weep all you Customers that use
His Pills, his Almanacks, or Shoes.
And you that did your Fortunes seek,
Step to this Grave but once a Week,
This Earth which bears his Body's Print,
You'll find has so much Virtue in't,
That I durst Pawn my Ears, 'twill tell
What e'er concerns you, full as well
In Physick, Stolen Goods, or Love,
As he himself could, when above.

APOL-

Apollo Outwitted.

*To the Honourable Mrs. FINCH,
under her Name of Ardelia,*

Written, 1709.

PHOEBUS now shortning every Shade,
Up to the Northern *Tropick* came,
And thence Beheld a Lovely Maid
Attending on a Royal Dame.

THE God laid down his Feeble Rays,
Then lighted from his Glitt'ring Coach,
But fenc'd his Head with his own Bays
Before he durst the Nymph approach.

UN-

UNDER those Sacred Leaves, Secure
 From common Lightning of the Skies,
 He fondly thought he might endure
 The Flashes of *Ardelia's* Eyes.

THE Nymph who oft had read in Books,
 Of that Bright God whom Bards invoke,
 Soon knew *Apollo* by his looks,
 And Guest his Business e're he Spoke.

HE in the old Celestial Cant,
 Confest his Flame, and Swore by *Styx*,
 What e're she would desire, to Grant,
 But Wife *Ardelia* knew his Tricks.

OVID had warn'd her to beware,
 Of Stroling God's, whose usual Trade is,
 Under pretence of Taking Air,
 To Pick up Sublunary Ladies.

HOW-

HOWE'ER she gave no flat Denial,
As having Malice in her Heart,
And was resolv'd upon a Tryal,
To Cheat the God in his own Art.

HEAR my Request the Virgin said
Let which I please of all the Nine
Attend when e'er I want their Aid,
Obey my Call, and only mine.

BY Vow Oblig'd, By Passion led,
The God could not refuse her Prayer;
He wav'd his Wreath Thrice o'er her Head,
Thrice mutter'd something to the Air.

AND now he thought to Seize his due,
But she the Charm already try'd,
Thalia heard the Call and Flew
To wait at Bright *Ardelia's* Side.

402 *A P O L L O Outwitted.*

ON Sight of this Celestial Prude,
 Apollo thought it vain to stay,
Nor in her Presence durst be Rude,
 But made his Leg and went away.

HE hop'd to find some lucky Hour,
 When on their Queen the Muses wait;
But *Pallas* owns *Ardelia's* Power,
 For Vows Divine are kept by Fate.

THEN full of Rage *Apollo* Spoke,
 Deceitful Nymph I see thy Art,
And tho' I can't my gift revoke,
 I'll disappoint its Nobler Part.

LET Stubborn Pride Possess thee long,
 And be thou Negligent of Fame,
With ev'ry Muse to Grace thy Song,
 May'st thou despise a Poets Name.

OF

OF Modest Poets thou be first,
To silent Shades repeat thy Verse,
Till *Fame* and *Eccho* almost burst,
Yet hardly dare one Line Rehearse.

AND last, my Vengeance to Compleat,
May you Descend to take Renown,
Prevail'd on by the Thing you hate,
A — and one that wears a Gown.

A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
MORNING.

April, 1709.

Coach
NOW hardly here and there an Hackney-
(proach.
Appearing, shew'd the Ruddy Morns Ap-
Now *Betty* from her Masters Bed had flown,
And softly stole to discompose her own.
The Slipshod Prentice from his Masters Door,
(Floor.
Had par'd the Dirt, and Sprinkled round the
Now

A Description of the Morning. 405

(Airs,
Now *Moll* had whirl'd her Mop with dext'rous
Prepar'd to Scrub the Entry and the Stairs.

The Youth with Broomy Stumps began to trace

(Place.
The Kennel-Edge, where Wheels had worn the

(deep,
The Smallcoal-Man was heard with Cadence

(Sweep,
'Till drown'd in Shriller Notes of Chimney-
Duns at his Lordships Gate began to meet,

(the Street.
And Brickduft *Moll* had Scream'd through half
The Turnkey now his Flock returning sees,
Duly let out a Nights to Steal for Fees.

The watchful Bailiffs take their silen Stands,

(Hands.
And School-Boys lag with Satchels in their

A
DESCRIPTION
OF A
CITY SHOWER.

October, 1710.

CAREFUL Observers may foretel the Hour
(Show'r:
(By sure Prognosticks) when to dread a
While Rain depends, the pensive Cat gives o'er
Her Frolicks, and pursues her Tail no more.
Returning Home at Night, you'll find the Sink
Strike your offended Sense with double Stink.
If you be wise, then go not far to Dine,
(Wine.
You'll spend in Coach-hire more than save in
A coming

Description of a City Shower. 407

A coming Show'r your shooting Corns preface,
Old Aches throb, your hollow Tooth will rage.
Sauntering in Coffee-house is *Dulman* seen ;
He damns the Climate, and complains of Spleen.

(Wings,
MEAN while the South rising with dabbled
A Sable Cloud a-thawrt the Welkin flings,
That swill'd more Liquor than it could contain,
And like a Drunkard gives it up again.

Brisk *Susan* whips her Linen from the Rope,
While the first drizzling Show'r is born aslope,
(Queen
Such is that Sprinkling which some careless
Flirts on you from her Mop, but not so clean.
You fly, invoke the Gods ; then turning, stop
To rail ; she singing, still whirls on her Mop.
Not yet, the Dust had shun'd th' unequal Strife,
But aided by the Wind, fought still for Life ;

408 *Description of a City Shower.*

And wafted with its Foe by violent Gust,
(was Dust.
'Twas doubtful which was Rain, and which
Ah! where must needy Poet seek for Aid,
When Dust and Rain at once his Coat invade;
His only Coat, where Dust confus'd with Rain,
Roughen the Nap, and leave a mingled Stain.

(down,
NOW in contiguous Drops the Flood comes
Threat'ning with Deluge this *Devoted* Town.
To Shops in Crouds the dagged Females fly,
Pretend to cheapen Goods, but nothing buy.

(broach,
The Templer spruce, while ev'ry Spout's a-
Stays till 'tis fair, yet seems to call a Coach.

(Strides,
The tuck'd-up Sempstrefs walks with hasty
(Sides.
While Streams run down her oil'd Umbrella's

Here

Description of a City Shower. 409

Here various Kinds by various Fortunes led,
Commence Acquaintance underneath a Shed.
Triumphant Tories, and desponding Whigs,
Forget their Fewds, and join to save their Wigs.
Box'd in a Chair the Beau impatient sits,
While Spouts run clatt'ring o'er the Roof by Fits;
And ever and anon with frightful Din
The Leather sounds, he trembles from within.
So when *Troy* Chair-men bore the Wooden Steed.
Pregnant with *Greeks*, impatient to be freed.
(Those Bully *Greeks*, who, as the Moderns do,
Instead of paying Chair-men, run them thro'.)
Laoco'n struck the Outside with his Spear,
And each imprison'd Hero quak'd for Fear.

(flow,
NOW from all Parts the swelling Kennels
And bear their Trophies with them as they go :
Filth of all Hues and Odours seem to tell

(Smell.
What Street they sail'd from, by their Sight and
They,

410 Description of a City Shower.

They, as each Torrent drives, with rapid Force
From *Smithfield*, or *St. Pulchre's* shape their Course,
And in huge Confluent join at *Snow-Hill* Ridge,
Fall from the *Conduit* prone to *Holborn-Bridge*.

(and Blood, }
Sweepings from Butchers Stalls, Dung, Guts, }
(in Mud, }
Drown'd Puppies, stinging Sprats, all drench'd }
(down the Flood, }
Dead Cats and Turnip-Tops come tumbling,

The

*The Following Poem being judged by some to
to be after the Authors manner, I have ven-
tured to Print it.*

THE
VIRTUES
OF
Sid Hamet the MAGICIAN'S
R O D.

Written, 1710.

THE Rod was but a harmless Wand,
While *Moses* held it in his Hand,
But soon as e'er he *laid it down*,
'Twas a devouring Serpent grown.

OUR

OUR great Magician, *Hamet Sid*,
Reverses what the Prophet did ;
His *Rod* was honest *English* Wood,
That, senseless, in a Corner stood,
Till Metamorphos'd by his Grasp,
It grew an all-devouring Asp ;
Would hiss, and sting, and roll, and twist,
By the meer Virtue of his Fist :
But when he *lay'd it down*, as quick
Resum'd the Figure of a Stick.

SO to Her Midnight Feasts the Hag,
Rides on a Broomstick for a Nag,
That, rais'd by Magick of her Breech,
O'er Sea and Land conveys the Witch ;
But, with the Morning-Dawn, resumes
The Peaceful State of common Brooms.

THEY tell us someting strange and odd,
About a certain Magick *Rod*,

That,

That, bending down it's Top, divines
 When e'er the Soil has Golden Mines:
 Where there are none, it stands erect,
 Scorning to show the least Respect.
 As ready was the *Wand* of *Sid*
 To *bend* where *Golden Mines* were hid;
 In *Scottish* Hills found precious Ore,
 Where none e'er look'd for it before;
 And, by a *gentle Bow*, divin'd
 How well a *Cully's* Purse was lin'd:
 To a forlorn and broken *Rake*,
 Stood without Motion, like a Stake.

THE *Rod* of *Hermes* was renown'd
 For Charms above and under Ground;
 To sleep could Mortal Eye-lids fix
 And drive departed Souls to *Styx*.
 That *Rod* was just a Type of *Sid's*,
 Which, o'er a *British* Senate's Lids,
 Could scatter *Opium* full as well,
 And drive as many Souls to Hell.

SID's

SID's Rod was slender, white, and tall,
Which oft he us'd to *fish* withal:
A PLACE was fastned to the Hook,
And many Score of *Gugeons* took ;
Yet, still so happy was his Fate,
He caught his *Fish*, and sav'd his *Bait*.

SID's Brethren of the conj'ring Tribe
A Circle with their *Rod* describe,
Which proves a Magical Redoubt
To keep *mischievous Spirits* out :
Sid's Rod Was of a larger Stride,
And made a Circle thrice as wide,
Where *Spirits* throng'd with hideous Din,
And he stood there to *take them in*.
But, when th' enchanted *Rod* was broke,
They vanish'd in a stinking Smoak.

ACHILLES's Scepter was of Wood,
Like *Sid's*, but nothing near so good ;

Tho,

Tho, down from Ancestors Divine
Transmitted to the Heroes Line,
Thence, thro' a long Descent of Kings,
Came an *Wit-loom*, as *Homer* sings,
Tho' this Description looks so big,
That *Scepter* was a sapless Twig:
Which, from the fatal Day when first
It left the Forest where 'twas nurs't,
As *Homer* tells us o'er and o'er,
Nor Leaf, nor Fruit, nor Blossom bore.
Sid's Scepter, full of Juice, did shoot
In Golden Boughs, and Golden Fruit,
And He, the *Dragon* never sleeping,
Guarded each fair *Hesperian* Pippin.
No *Hobby-horse*, with gorgeous Top,
The dearest in *Charles Mather's* Shop,
Or glitt'ring Tinsel of *May-Fair*,
Could with this *Rod* of *Sid* compare.

DEAR *Sid*, then why wer't thou so mad
To break thy *Rod* like naughty Lad?

You

You should have kiss'd it in your Distress,
 And then return'd it to *your Mistress*,
 Or made it a *Newmarket Switch*,
 And not a *Rod* for thy own Breech.
 For since old *Sid* has broken this,
 His next will be a *Rod in Pifs*.



FINIS